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Conflict Theory

Bjørn Møller*

In this paper, a typology of conflicts is offered, followed by an account of the typical conflict cycle.[1] The following paper provides an overview of strategies, methods and instruments for conflict intervention, i.e. conflict prevention, management, mitigation and resolution.

Levels of Conflict

Conflicts occur at various levels, ranging from the international level of wars to the inter-personal level of marital disputes—to which one might even add "intrapersonal conflicts" as most dramatically illustrated by schizophrenia.[2] (See Table 1). For our present purposes, however, a dichotomous distinction between conflicts within and between states seems adequate, albeit only with the addition of their combination in internationalised intra-state conflicts, here labelled "transnational conflicts". It further makes sense to distinguish between violent and non-violent conflicts, and to acknowledge that neither the borders separating the various levels nor those between violent and non-violent conflicts are entirely clear or impermeable.

Table 1: Taxonomy of Conflicts	International	Transnational	Intra-state	Inter-personal
Violent	War Other armed conflicts Cold War	Military intervention Support for armed insurgents	Civil wars Armed insurgencies Genocide	Wife battering Child abuse Murder Violent crime
Non-violent	Political disputes Trade wars	Sanctions Diplomacy	Political struggle	Verbal disputes Discrimination

It would surely be tantamount to "reductionism" to assume conflicts to always follow the same pattern, regardless of the level,[3] i.e. to assume "isomorphism" across the divides between levels.[4] However, it makes perfect sense to make *heuristic* (and, of course, illustrative) use of accumulated knowledge about conflicts at one level for the analysis of conflicts at another. While one cannot assume that these will be structurally similar, it just might be the case. Also the commonly shared experience from conflicts at the interpersonal level may recommend such disputes for illustration (as opposed to explanation) of disputes at other levels, several steps removed from the daily experience.

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International Conflicts: Clausewitzian War and Beyond

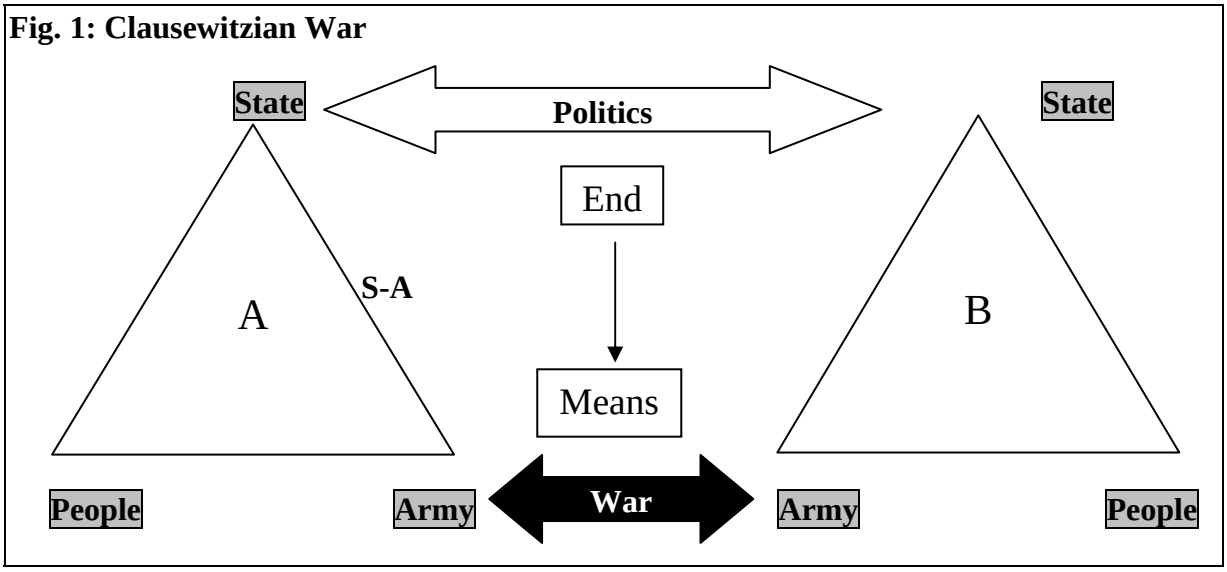
Conflicts between states occur over many different issues and come in many shapes. The issues of contention include such matters as territory, natural resources, power (entailing the ability to acquire all the rest, if need be by force) and prestige.[5]

Most such conflicts are, fortunately, peaceful and are fought out by means of diplomacy and other political instruments, often combined with economic means of persuasion or coercion. However, military means are often employed, either directly or indirectly, i.e. as means of deterrence or "compellence", including "crisis management" as it is usually labelled in the post-Cold War jargon.[6] In other cases, of course, military force is actually used for fighting. Genuine wars used to be clearly identifiable by being preceded by a declaration of war, but this has become a distinct rarity,[7] calling for other criteria to distinguish "war" from "other armed conflicts".

The most obvious solution to this is to reserve the label "war" for armed conflicts among states and to stipulate a quantitative threshold above which something should be called a war rather than a mere "incident", e.g. in terms of battle-deaths per year.[8] This still leaves some definitional problems, e.g. whether to count wars between several states as one comprehensive or several dyadic wars, and whether to count a war intersected by periods of peace as one or several consecutive wars.

The traditional image of war is that of a rational endeavour of states opposing each other, each supposedly "representing" its respective people and being represented on the battlefield by its army, in its turn drawn from the people itself and thus somehow representative of it.[9] Indeed, it is possible to view the relationship between war and the state as almost a symbiosis, where the state is built on war, which in turn presupposes the state.[10] This form of war was aptly described by Clausewitz as "a continuation of politics by other means" i.e. as clearly subordinated to politics in an end-means relationship (see Fig. 1).[11]

Fig. 1: Clausewitzian War



This conception of war may have all along contained the seeds of its own obsolescence. First of all, in order for Clausewitzian war to serve as a means to political ends, it had to be orderly, i.e. regulated. This progressive regulation, *inter alia* by a legal application of the "just war" philosophy[12] has produced a steadily growing body of laws of war, the cumulative effect of which has been to outlaw war as a means to all other political ends than self-defence.[13] Henceforth war is thus only permissible as a response to an illicit use of military force by another state, i.e. only a suitable means to a very narrowly circumscribed span of political ends.

Secondly, for Clausewitzian war to be "rational" it had to be guided by science. Hence, the growing body of strategic thought, all aimed at transforming war into a genuinely rational, almost scientific endeavour.[14] However, the application of science to war also resulted (as intended) in a growing destructiveness of war, culminating in the two world wars and the development of nuclear weapons. Everybody soon had to realise the truth in Bernard Brodie's concerns, voiced in 1946 in his *The Absolute Weapon*: "Thus far the chief purpose of a military establishment has been to win wars. From now on its chief purpose must be to avert them. It can have no other useful purpose".[15]

The subsequent growth of the nuclear arsenals[16] promised (according to the "nuclear winter hypothesis" promulgated in the early 1980s) that a nuclear war would render the entire globe uninhabitable.[17] This level of destruction was obviously quite incompatible with any political aims, and all attempts at devising ways of using nuclear weapons for anything but the deterrence of nuclear attack have eventually been abandoned, [18] thus arguably rendering Clausewitzian war obsolete.[19]

Thirdly, the Clausewitzian paradigm of war presupposed a symbiotic unity of peoples, states and armies, which may also soon be a thing of the past. The unity between peoples and armies was manifested in the introduction of universal (male) conscription in most of Europe in the course of the century following the 1789 French Revolution—and it was usually accompanied by the granting of civil and political rights to the population, tantamount to the forging of a certain unity between peoples and states.[20]

Conscription, however, now seems to be on its way out, at least in the industrialised world,[21] where professional soldiers are the order of the day. We are even witnessing a progressive privatisation of war with the outsourcing of combat and other military tasks to private military companies (PMCs)[22]—a phenomenon which we shall also encounter in several African armed conflicts. One of the explanations may be that governments no longer feel entitled to jeopardise the lives of their citizens in war, i.e. that the world (or at least the developed part of it) have entered an era of "post-heroic warfare".[23]

"War" in the traditional, i.e. Clausewitzian sense, may thus be approaching obsolescence.[24] Indeed, for the entire period from 1990 to 2001, only three (Iraq/Kuwait, India/Pakistan and Ethiopia/Eritrea) of a total of 57 major armed conflicts were between states, according to the Uppsala Conflict Data Project.[25] This may be an argument for labelling other forms of armed conflict "wars", if only in order to save the term from oblivion and as a way of acknowledging the changing nature of armed conflict. Hence terms such as "new wars" (Mary Kaldor) or "uncivil wars" (Donald Snow), "post-trinitarian", "post-modern" or "neo-archaïc wars" (as suggested by the present author on different occasions).[26] On the other hand, it may be preferable to continue to reserve the label "war" to the increasingly rare phenomenon of large-scale armed conflict between states—just as one does not begin calling other animals "rhinos" merely because the rhinoceros has become an endangered species.

As this kind of war has all along been rare occurrence in post-independence Africa, I shall leave it at that.

Intra-State and Transnational Conflicts

Most of today's armed conflicts are intra-state,[27] i.e. they take place either between different groups within a society or between the state and an insurgent group. The contentious issues ("incompatibilities") have by some analysts been lumped together under the headings "government" and "territory", i.e. as having to do with either the type of political system or the incumbent government or with territorial issues such as secession or autonomy.[28]

As such conflicts are the predominant ones in Africa, most of the following account is devoted to such intra-state conflicts. There is, of course, also a wealth of conflicts at the intra-personal level, such as wife- battering, rape, child abuse or violent crime, but these have largely been omitted from the analysis.

A number of intra-state conflicts have become partly internationalised by the involvement of either other states or non-state contestants across an international border—for which phenomenon I have opted for the term "transnational conflicts".[29] Arguably this transnationalisation of armed conflict is merely a reflection of the growing importance of transnational relations of all sorts[30]—and partly caused by globalisation.[31] The boundaries between "inside" and "outside" may simply be eroding, and the frontiers becoming increasingly blurred.[32] Conflicts which are, by their very nature, intra-state may become transnationalised in various ways, including the following:

- Through "humanitarian intervention"[33] by external powers, most often those of the global West or North, as happened in Somalia and to a limited (and rather perverted) sense in Rwanda with the French "*Operation Turquoise*".
- In ethnic conflicts, one or several of the parties to the conflict may have ethnic kin in control of state power in neighbouring states. Especially if the latter base their legitimacy on ethnic nationalism they may feel compelled to come to the assistance of their beleaguered ethnic kin.
- The relationship between states and ethnic groups may also work the other way, as states may wage "proxy wars" against each other by supporting armed insurgents on each other's territory who may or may not be ethnically related.
- Insurgents may operate out of bases across the border, thereby justifying cross-border raids, either in hot pursuit of fleeing insurgents (or terrorists) or, more radically, in the form of larger incursions or even invasions with the goal of destroying the bases—as was arguably the case of the Rwandan intervention in the DR Congo.

There are thus many ways in which what began as intra-state conflicts may become inter- or transnationalised, either deliberately or inadvertently. Once other states become involved they may well behave in a manner resembling what they would do in a genuine international conflict, which merely illustrates the blurred distinctions between the three levels of armed conflict.

The Regional Level

Transnational conflicts mainly appear between adjacent states, i.e. at the regional level, which might be regarded as a special level bridging the divide between the international and the transnational one. However, not only has the

regional level generally been disregarded in the international relations (IR) literature, but also the definition and delimitation of regions remain controversial, both theoretically and politically.

What is clear is that a region is a subset of the global international system, but how to delimitate such a subset is debatable because several criteria might be applied, each yielding a different result—none of them, of course, being more correct than the others.[34] Moreover, for analytical (and sometimes also political) purposes it may be useful with a further subdivision to the level of sub regions or even smaller groupings. For instance, if one treats "Africa" as a region, then sub-Saharan Africa is automatically relegated to the status of a sub-region. The sum of the Great Lakes countries or those of Southern Africa would then, at most, qualify a "sub-sub-regions", and we would need additional "sub-prefixes" to label any subset within them, such as parts of states (provinces, for instance) or "regions" which straddle state borders but comprise only parts of these states.

Among the possible criteria for delimitation the first that springs to mind is the simple geographical (or geopolitical) one of proximity, as a region is usually held to consist of contiguous states. For instance, one would never label the Commonwealth a region, simply because it comprises non-contiguous states. This contiguity criterion, however, begs the question of where to draw the outer limit, unless there happen to be clear natural boundaries. The African continent happens to be fairly clearly delimited, the only exceptions being the Egyptian Sinai Peninsula outside the continent and the Spanish exclaves in North Africa. However, it is far from obvious that countries like Egypt or the rest of the Maghreb really belong to Africa rather than to the Middle East—or even a Mediterranean region.[35] Moreover, in relations between peoples, societies and states, proximity is not merely a matter of physical distance, but also a function of topography, infrastructure, technology and economic factors. For instance, the fastest route of travel between several African capitals happens to be via Europe (*sic!*), simply because intra-African transport networks are so under-developed, partly as a legacy of colonialism.

Secondly, we have a variation on the geographical criterion, focusing on ecosystems, for instance defined by shared rivers and or other sources of water supplies.[36] In several cases, belonging to such an ecosystem creates a certain commonality, at least in the sense of mutual dependency and shared interests—as well as, alas, the basis for conflicts over how the proper division of "shared" natural resources. Arguably, the very term "Great Lakes Region" is based on such a criterion—even though the Republic of Congo (Brazzaville) would then have to be excluded from it, and Tanzania, Zambia and Malawi included.

Thirdly, there is the criterion of cultural affinity—which happens to almost coincide with that of "civilisations" as used by Samuel Huntington, who predicts a clash between some of the world's (alleged) nine great civilisations.[37] Apart from this unfortunate coincidence, the criterion may be unwieldy as cultural homogeneity is usually more pronounced when seen from the outside (where it is viewed as "otherness") than from the inside.[38] Furthermore, "culture" has many aspects (e.g. religious, ideological, and ethnic), which do not automatically yield the same delimitation. A variation on this theme is the notion of regions as "imagined communities", in analogy with nations as understood by Benedict Anderson and other social constructivists. Like nations regions may be constituted as such by the members "imagining" themselves as belonging together, and the rest of the world acknowledging them as such, regardless of whether either has any "objective" foundation.[39]

Fourthly, the latter variation brings us into the sphere of politics, where a convenient political or legal criterion of delimitation might be membership of institutions or organisations defined as "regional", e.g. by the United Nations.[40] Unfortunately, however, most African organisations (with the partial exceptions of ECOWAS and SADC) are so weak as to appear unsuitable for this purpose—and large parts of Africa are almost devoid of organisations, as is the case of the Great Lakes region. Moreover, there is considerable overlap between regions-defined-by-organisations (*vide infra*).

Fifthly, we have the "scientific" or empirical criterion of interaction, according to which regions may be identified as such by a greater-than-average intensity of interaction. Most analyses have focused on trade and other forms of economic interaction, but this would yield rather meagre results in all of Africa because of the low level of intra-African trade, at least as far as the formal economy is concerned. However, one might also look at phenomena such as labour migration and other cross-border human interaction, which might arguably also form the basis of regionalisation.[41]

Finally, as a variation of the above, we might define regions as having an above-average intensity of interaction and interdepence in the specific field of security. Barry Buzan has thus suggested the term "security complex" for "a group of states whose primary security concerns link together sufficiently closely that their national securities cannot realistically be considered apart from one another".[42] For all its merits, however, this concept seems to need some modification in order to be analytically useful when applied to Africa. First of all, its implications depend on how "security" is defined, more on which below. Secondly, the theory will have to allow for an overlap among security complexes, i.e. take into due account that some states may have to be reckoned

as parts of more than one security complex. While this may make the concept less neat, and the theory less parsimonious, it would surely make them both more useful tools for dealing with the real world.

However defined, the regional level seems useful as it allows for capturing both international and transnational conflict dynamics. Hence, the case studies on African countries have been grouped according to region and preceded by accounts of their respective regions—or rather sub regions. In order to avoid the inconvenience of cumbersome prefixes, whenever there has seemed to be no room for misunderstanding, the term "region" has been preferred also for what are rightly sub regions or even smaller sets.

The Roots of Conflict

Conflicts have both structural ("root") and proximate causes ("triggers"), the former referring to the underlying problems and the latter to the triggering factors. Fully-fledged conflicts never spring out into the open without a combination of the two, i.e. neither can a single event precipitate an open conflict unless there are structural reasons for it, nor can structural causes create a crisis in the absence of a triggering factor. This has implications for the handling of crises, e.g. for early warning and conflict prevention, which is often subdivided into "structural" and "operational" prevention, roughly corresponding to dealing with structural and proximate causes.[43]

The treatment of proximate causes has been relegated to the section on the conflict cycle, so we shall begin with a look at the potential structural causes of conflict. A useful point of departure is the commonplace distinction between conflicts of interests and conflicts of values and attitudes.[44]

Conflicts of Interest

Even though conflicts of interests are, by definition, "objective", they are not immediately observable and their identification may, to a large extent, be a matter of ideology. One can arrive at the identification of objective interests from several different theoretical or ideological vantage points.

- Marxism thus argues that the ownership of the means of production (including land) leads to exploitation of the peasants and workers by the owners, which is tantamount to an irreconcilable and antagonistic conflict of interests, regardless of whether the two sides are aware of its presence.[45]
- The Norwegian peace researcher Johan Galtung argues that "relative deprivation" constitutes "structural violence", regardless of whether the parties realise this.[46] This deprivation is likely to produce aggression and, in due course, direct violence. This is especially likely to occur in the case of "rank disequilibria", e.g. if groups of people rank high on one scale (e.g. of

education), but low on others such as influence.[47]

- Another peace researcher, John Burton, basically agree with this explanation whilst emphasising the paramount importance of "basic human needs" which are presumably inherent in human nature and universal, hence non-negotiable—the needs for identity, recognition, security and personal development which "will be pursued", come what may.[48]

While all three theories posit an objective antagonism between the "haves" and the "have-nots", it is important to stress that it is *not* absolute (material and other) poverty, which causes conflict behaviour. There is no strong correlation, if any, between violent behaviour and living standards. It is *relative* poverty or deprivation that causes grievances and conflict behaviour, i.e. a standard of living which is seen as unsatisfactory in comparison with something else—either with that which others (are seen to) enjoy, or with what the individual or group in question used to enjoy, or what s/he expected to enjoy in the future. Hence, deteriorating living conditions may cause conflicts, as may even a declining rate of growth, because it may frustrate overly optimistic expectations, thereby producing aggression and a propensity for direct violence, as implied by the famous "frustration-aggression hypothesis".[49]

For all the merits of the above hypotheses, they are hard to operationalise. To the extent that "objective" conflicts of interests are not acknowledged by the parties (who may not even be conscious of their conflicting interests) the analyst has to resort to notions of "false consciousness".[50] Thereby he makes himself an easy target for critics charging him with not being "scientific" because the postulates are inherently unfalsifiable.[51]

Indeed the analyst may even be charged with "cultural imperialism", say if he (or, even more likely, she) claims that women are oppressed (i.e. suffer a relative deprivation of rights) and therefore have an objective interest in equal rights, if this claim is made in countries where gender stereotypes are so internalised in both sexes that women willingly accept a subordinate position in society—or even atrocities such as female circumcision (better labelled "genital mutilation"). However, such cases should not be taken as arguments against assuming objective interests, as it is surely not in the objective interest of babies to be mutilated. For all its possible merits, cultural relativism can surely be taken too far.

Even though a causal link between relative deprivation and violence may be difficult to demonstrate, there certainly seems to be a significant correlation between the two. First of all most major armed conflicts take place in the Third World—and not least in Africa as set out in Table 2.

Table 2: Armed Conflicts by Region[52]					
	Europe	**Middle East**	**Asia**	**Americas**	**Africa**
1989	2	4	19	8	**14**
1990	3	6	18	5	**17**
1991	6	7	16	5	**17**
1992	9	7	20	4	**15**
1993	10	7	15	3	**11**
1994	5	5	15	4	**13**
1995	5	4	13	4	**9**
1996	1	5	14	2	**14**
1997	0	3	15	2	**14**
1998	2	3	15	2	**15**
1999	3	2	14	2	**16**
2000	1	3	14	1	**14**

Secondly, the general picture of relative deprivation of most of the "Third World" is fairly clear and indisputable. It was aptly summed up in the opening words of the United Nations' *2001 Report on the World Social Situation:* "Disparities in income and wealth are growing in many countries, and the distance between richer and poorer countries is also widening."[53]

The annual reports of the UNDP (United Nations Development Programme) present a very similar picture of a growing gap between the haves and the have-nots, both within and between countries and with regard to all indicators of "human development". According to the 2002 issue of the *Human Development Report*, the richest five percent of the world's people have incomes 114 times those of the poorest five percent,[54] and the average per capita income was US$27,848 in the high-income OECD countries as compared to 1,690 in sub-Saharan Africa, i.e. sixteen times higher.

This inequality is not "merely" a question of income, but is also reflected in, for instance, life expectancy where that of the rich countries is 78.2 years, but that of Africa south of the Sahara is a mere 48.7.[55] Table 3 lists the "top twenty" and "bottom twenty" countries on the "human development index" (HDI) calculated by the UNDP, which also measures such factors as education (adult literacy and enrollment in primary, secondary and tertiary education) in addition to GDP pc, i.e. gross domestic product per capita.

Table 3: Human Development: Selected Indicators[56]									
Rank	**Top 20**	**Life Exp.**	**GDP pc**	**HDI**	**Rank**	**Bottom 20**	**Life Exp.**	**GDP pc**	**HDI**
1	Norway	78.5	29,918	0.942	**154**	Senegal	53.3	1,510	0.431
2	Sweden	79.7	24,277	0.941	**155**	DRC	51.3	765	0.431
3	Canada	78.8	27,840	0.940	**156**	Côte d 'Ivoire	47.8	1630	0.428
4	Belgium	78.4	27,178	0.939	**157**	Eritrea	52	837	0.421
5	Australia	78.9	25,693	0.939	**158**	Benin	53.8	990	0.420
6	United States	77.0	34,142	0.939	**159**	Guinea	47.5	1982	0.414
7	Iceland	79.2	29,581	0.936	**160**	Gambia	46.2	1649	0.405
8	Netherlands	78.1	25,657	0.935	**161**	Angola	45.2	2,187	0.403
9	Japan	81.0	26,755	0.933	**162**	Rwanda	40.2	943	0.403
10	Finland	77.6	24,996	0.930	**163**	Malawi	40	615	0.400
11	Switzerland	78.9	28,769	0.928	**164**	Mali	51.5	797	0.386
12	France	78.6	24,223	0.928	**165**	CAS	44.3	1172	0.375
13	UK	77.7	23,509	0.928	**166**	Chad	45.7	871	0.365
14	Denmark	76.2	27,627	0.926	**167**	Guinea-Bissau	44.8	755	0.349
15	Austria	78.1	26,765	0.926	**168**	Ethiopia	43.9	668	0.327
16	Luxembourg	77.4	50,061	0.925	**169**	Burkina Faso	46.7	976	0.325
17	Germany	77.7	25,103	0.925	**170**	Mozambique	39.3	854	0.322
18	Ireland	76.6	29,866	0.925	**171**	Burundi	40.6	591	0.313
19	New Zealand	77.6	20,070	0.917	**172**	Niger	45.2	746	0.277
20	Italy	78.5	23,626	0.913	**173**	Sierra Leone	38.9	490	0.275

Life in the Third World is thus indeed "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short",[57] but especially so for the unfortunate poor, whereas the wealthy part of the population tends to be quite well off, even by European standards.

Inequalities within developing countries are thus usually much more dramatic than in the typical OECD countries, as emerges clearly from Table 4. In countries such as Guinea-Bissau and Sierra Leone, the richest ten percent of the population thus have more than eighty times as much wealth at their disposal as the poorest ten percent. In comparison, the distribution in the "egalitarian" Nordic countries (Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland) is much more even, the richest ten percent having only 5-6 times as much as the poorest ten percent—and even the much less egalitarian United States has a more even income distribution, especially when measured in "20/20" figures comparing the richest to the poorest twenty percent of the population.

Table 4: Inequalities within Countries[58]			Share of Income or Consumption				Inequality	
HDI Rank	Country	Year	Poorest		Richest		Richest/Poorest	
			10%	20%	20%	10%	10:10	20:20
154	Senegal	1995	2.6	6.4	48.2	33.5	12.9	7.5
156	Côte d 'Ivoire	1995	3.0	7.1	44.2	28.8	9.6	6.2
159	Guinea	1994	2.6	6.4	47.2	32.0	12.3	7.4
160	Gambia	1994	1.6	4.0	55.2	38.2	23.9	13.8
162	Rwanda	1983-85	4.2	9.7	39.1	24.2	5.8	4.0
164	Mali	1994	1.8	4.6	56.2	40.4	22.4	12.2
165	CAS	1993	0.7	2.0	65.0	47.7	68.1	32.5
167	Guinea-Bissau	1991	0.5	2.1	58.9	42.4	84.8	28.0
168	Ethiopia	1995	3.0	7.1	47.7	33.7	11.2	6.7
169	Burkina Faso	1998	2.0	4.6	60.4	46.8	23.4	13.1
170	Mozambique	1996-97	2.5	6.5	46.5	31.7	12.7	7.2
171	Burundi	1998	1.8	5.1	48.0	32.9	18.3	9.4
172	Niger	1995	0.8	2.6	53.3	35.4	44.3	20.5
173	Sierra Leone	1989	0.5	1.1	63.4	43.6	87.2	57.6
1	Norway	1995	4.1	9.7	35.8	21.8	5.3	3.7
2	Sweden	1992	3.7	9.6	34.5	20.1	5.4	3.6
3	Canada	1994	2.8	7.5	39.3	23.8	8.5	5.2
4	Belgium	1996	3.2	8.3	37.3	23.0	7.2	4.5
5	Australia	1994	2.0	5.9	41.3	25.4	12.7	7.0
6	United States	1997	1.8	5.2	46.4	30.5	16.9	8.9
8	Netherlands	1994	2.8	7.2	40.1	25.1	9.0	5.6
9	Japan	1993	4.8	10.6	35.6	21.7	4.5	3.4
10	Finland	1991	4.2	10.0	35.8	21.6	5.1	3.6
11	Switzerland	1992	2.6	6.9	40.3	25.2	9.7	5.8
12	France	1995	2.8	7.2	40.2	25.1	9.0	5.6
13	United Kingdom	1995	2.2	6.1	43.2	27.7	12.6	7.1
14	Denmark	1992	3.6	9.6	34.5	20.5	5.7	3.6
15	Austria	1995	2.5	6.9	38.0	22.5	9.0	5.5
16	Luxembourg	1994	4.0	9.4	36.5	22.0	5.5	3.9
17	Germany	1994	3.3	8.2	38.5	23.7	7.2	4.7
18	Ireland	1987	2.5	6.7	42.9	27.4	11.0	6.4
20	Italy	1995	3.5	8.7	36.3	21.8	6.2	4.2

Globalisation may further exacerbate these problems, not only because it tends to objectively widen the gap between the haves and the have-nots, within and between countries, but also because it makes the gap more obvious to the have-nots, inter alia because of the growing access of everybody to the media.[59] American soap operas portraying "the filthy rich" must appear even more absurd when viewed in a village in Mozambique by people struggling hard to stave off starvation than when watched by, say, Danish youngsters, who are both much better off and in a better position to know that the spectacle is not even representative of the United States.

Conflicts of Values

Conflicts of values and attitudes relate to less tangible and material matters than those of interests, but they are, paradoxically, more immediately observable, simply because values, beliefs and attitudes are, by their very nature, held consciously.

While it is, in principle, possible to have conflicts over any value or issue,[60] certain factors are more likely to become rallying points in conflicts than others, first among which seem to be ethnicity (including race), nationalism and religion.

Ethnicity does, of course, often rest on "objective" features such as race or other physical or linguistic features, as highlighted by ethnicity analysts of the "objectivist" or "primordialist" persuasion, who see ethnicity as an objective fact.[61] In their view ethnic identification may be subdued (as it was in Eastern Europe under Soviet/Communist rule) but once the "lid" is off, it will spring out into the open, simply because it is "natural". A more cultural, but still "objectivist" definition is that of Anthony Smith, who defines an ethnic group as "a named culture-community whose members have a myth of common origins, shared memories and cultural characteristics, a link with a homeland and a measure of solidarity."[62]

Closer analysis, however, reveals ethnicity to be a social construction, as objective features sometimes, but not always, become points of identification. Moreover, for most objective yardsticks there are sliding scales and grey areas, e.g. between different dialects and separate languages. It is only when the feature in question becomes a matter of social identification (or discrimination) that the need for clear-cut definitions emerges.[63] A perverse example of this was the "pencil test" used by the security forces of the apartheid regime in South Africa. When there was doubt whether a person should classify as white (or Asian) or black, the police officers inserted a pencil into his/her hair. If it fell to the floor the person was accepted as white (with all the accompanying rights), but if it stuck in the hair s/he was relegated to the disenfranchised and discriminated group of blacks.

Ethnies are thus, just as nations, best conceived of as "imagined communities," and social constructs—but none the less real for that, as socially constructed reality is a reality on par with physical reality, only of a different kind.[64] However, social construction also allows ethnicity to be instrumentalised and abused, usually in the form of xenophobia or overt racism, by political leaders in pursuit of private goals such as power or profits.[65] That the consequences thereof can be severe or even disastrous has recently been demonstrated in the former

Yugoslavia[66] as well as, even more dramatically, by the Rwandan genocide in 1994.

Religion also often plays a divisive role, either as a constituent element of ethnicity or as an independent issue of contention,[67] as illustrated by some of the conflicts in Nigeria.[68] A clash between Islam and the West, either in the form of state-versus-state encounters or of the "war" between the Al-Qaeda network and the United States, also illustrates the potential of religion to become a rallying point for conflict.[69] On the other hand, shared religious affiliations and/or strong ecumenical traditions can also by conducive to conflict prevention or resolution (as in South Africa).[70]

Non-religious ideologies may play the same divisive role.[71] Just as many political conflicts within countries are driven by ideology, the entire East-West conflict was arguably a conflict pitting proponents of one set of values (communism) against the advocates of capitalism (market economy) and democracy. Whether it is over with the end of the Cold War, as proclaimed by Francis Fukuyama, remains to be seen.[72]

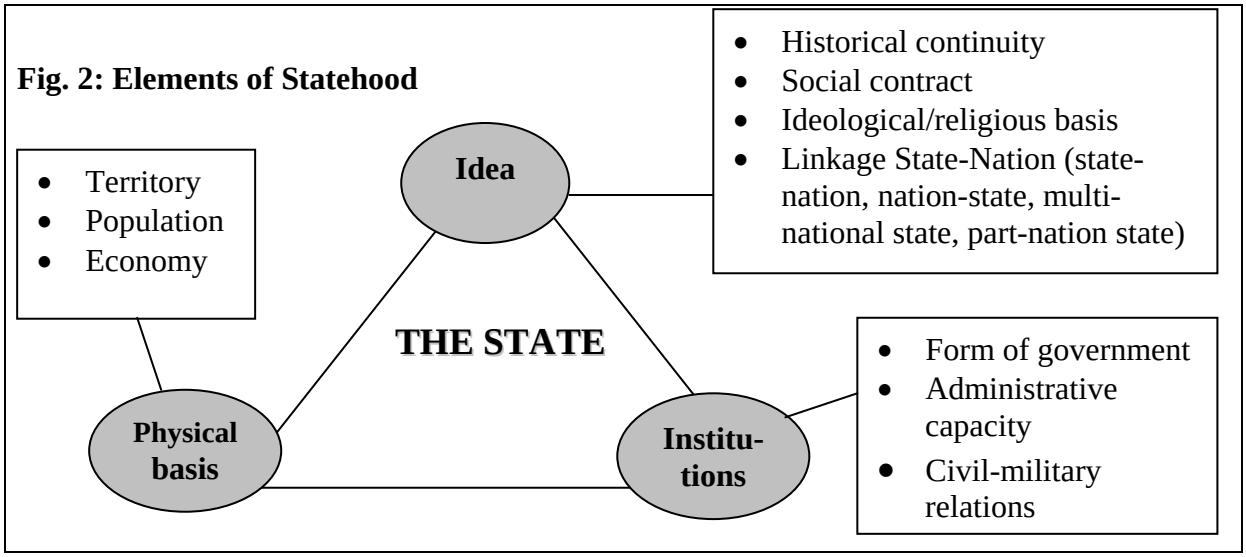
The Political Sphere

Political conflicts do not constitute a separate category of conflicts alongside those over interests and values. Rather, the political sphere is the arena where most conflicts are fought out, one way or the other, as this is where the "authoritative allocation of values for a society" takes place, as argued by David Easton[73]—be they material values as in conflicts of interests and immaterial ones, as in conflicts of values.

Centrality of the State

The main institution in the political system of today is the state. It may well be that this has not always been the case, but that other forms of political organisations have predominated at other times.[74] It may also well be the case that the state is a European invention which has subsequently been superimposed upon other forms of authority, e.g. in Africa.[75]

Fig. 2: Elements of Statehood



Quite a strong case can also be made to the effect that the state is far from an ideal instrument for allocating values for a society, especially not when this "society" is becoming increasingly globalised and partly borderless—hence the likely need for other forms of governance in the not so distant future.[76] As of today, however, the state is the cornerstone of politics, both within bordered societies and between such societies, as the international system remains predominantly a state system.[77]

This makes it all the more deplorable that many states in the Third World, and not least in Africa, are weak and deficient in several respects. A useful conceptualisation of the "dimensions" of statehood, capable of capturing both state strengths and weaknesses, is that developed by Barry Buzan and subsequently slightly amended by Kalevi Holsti.[78] They both distinguish between the idea, the physical basis and the institutions of the state, while acknowledging that the three are closely interlinked (see Fig. 2).

The Idea of the State

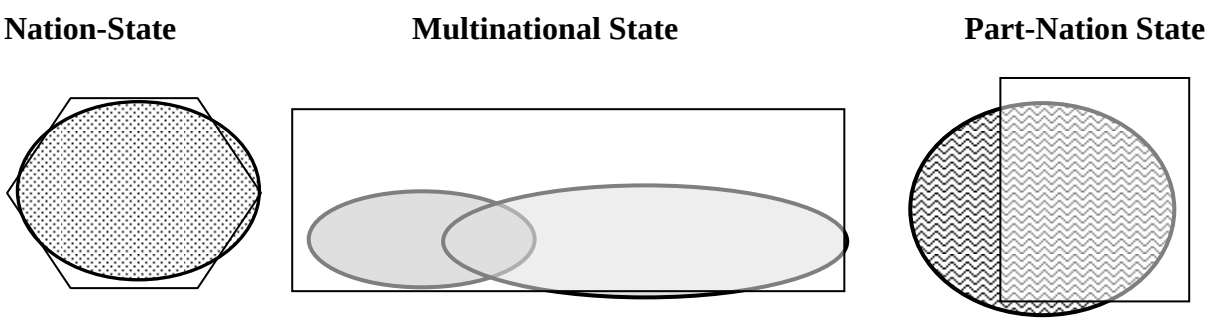
The "idea" of the state signifies its purpose or *raison d'être*, for which role several sets of ideas may recommend themselves.

- The simplest is that of historical continuity, i.e. the notion that a state has been there since times immemorial, or at least for a long period. This provides it with a degree of legitimacy, even in such cases where a state has temporarily ceased to be (as has, for instance, been the case of Poland more than once). This idea of continuity may also be more specific, e.g. by being linked to dynastic succession or to borders. It is often underpinned by myths, e.g. about heroic battles such as the Serbian myth (containing grains of truth) about the heroic battle against the Turks at Kosovo Polje.

- With thinkers such as Locke and Rousseau (or even Hobbes) came notions about a social contract between rulers and subjects, i.e. the concept of popular sovereignty according to which the state should somehow represent the people[79]—either in the form of democracy or (in a more perverted form) through the rule by a "vanguard" of the people, as in Marxism-Leninism or National Socialism.
- The latter points to the possibility of ideologically defined states, such as the "Democratic Peoples Republic" of Korea (DPRK, i.e. North Korea), the very *raison d'être* of which is to be based on the socialist "*juche*" ideology, alleged to further the objective interests of the people.[80] In a similar vein, certain states have a religious foundation, as the Jewish state of Israel or the Islamic states of Pakistan or Iran.[81]
- The most common modern idea of the state is, however, that of constituting the political "superstructure" of a society, conceived of as a nation, which raises the question how state and nation may be combined.

It is certainly possible that the state may precede the nation and serve as its constitutive criterion, as in political "state-nations" such as Frace and the United States where the nation is conceived of as simply the sum of the citizens.[82] In other cases, however, the nation precedes the state, and the predominant norm is that the state should conform as closely to the nation as possible, i.e. that the entire nation should belong to the nation-state, which should further be homogenous in the sense of containing no other nations or parts thereof. This has been the typically German form of nationalism.[83]

Fig 3: Linkage State-Nation



Legend: Nation: Rounded shapes, State: Rectangular or sextangular shapes**.**

The nation-state is, however, a rather rare exception to the general rule that the borders of nations and states do not match (See Fig. 3). Many states are thus multi-national in the sense of comprising several nations within the same state borders, and some are part-nation-states, containing only part of a nation, as was the case of the German states through most of their history, and which remains

the case of the two Koreas and other "divided states".[84] As we shall see in chapter six, Somalia belongs in this category of divided states, whereas Ethiopia is an almost textbook example of a multinational empire. Finally, there are several possible combinations of the two (i.e. multinational part-nations), as in the former Yugoslavia, which comprised, among other "entrapped" nations, a sizable segment of the Albanian nation, in its turn scattered across Macedonia and other states as well as concentrated in Albania proper.[85]

The Physical Basis of the State

Every state needs a physical basis, including a territory, a population and an economic foundation.

- **Territory.** However much one might speculate about future "virtual states", actual states need a territory, defining the limits of their sovereign domain. To which extent there are perennial laws and regularities for the size and configuration of this territory is a matter for geopoliticians to theorise about.[86] Suffice it to say that it has to be "adequate" and manageable, but often is not—especially in the case of former colonies whose borders were drawn by external powers with little regard for the "facts on the ground". As a consequence, many Third World states, not least in Africa, are endowed with awkward shapes as, for instance, Namibia (with the Caprivi Strip); or they include exclaves such as Cabinda, belonging to, but geographically separated from, Angola; or they are ungovernably large (as the DR Congo), while others are unsustainably small (as Lesotho or Swaziland); or landlocked without access to the sea, as are several African states. Moreover, borders between states frequently collide with the actual borders of the second element of the physical basis, i.e. the population.
- **Population.** Every state needs a population, but there are no rules as to its size, which varies, with several orders of magnitude, ranging from the Holy See (Vatican State) with a population of a mere 890 souls to China with nearly 1.3 billion inhabitants.[87] An important parameter is that of ethnic, religious, cultural and linguistic homogeneity, as many (but not all) states with heterogeneous populations exhibit a lack of internal cohesion, often manifested in civil strife.[88] Often, but again not always, such conflicts give rise to claims for autonomy or even secession,[89] of which we shall encounter several instances in the following chapters.
- **Economic basis:** A state further needs an economic basis (which may, of course, be subsumed under population and territory). While Marxism is surely wrong in assuming that the state is merely a superstructure of the economy,[90] it is undoubtedly right in assuming that the economy matters, if only because a productive surplus is a necessary (albeit not a sufficient) precondition of running the state apparatus. Without such an economic surplus, and the capacity to extract it via taxation, the state is in dire straits.

The State Institutions

This takes us the "the state as such", i.e. the institutions of which it consists. Important parameters are the form of government and its legitimacy, the administrative capacity and the relationship between the armed forces and the state.

- **Form of government.** While dynastic succession was previously regarded as sufficient for what has been called the "procedural legitimacy" of a government, today's standards call for democratic rule, i.e. for free and fair elections with the participation of multiple parties, a free press, etc. Unfortunately, a functioning and stable democracy is usually the product of a long period of trial-and-error. Lacking such long democratic traditions, most African and other Third World states are therefore far from the ideal of democracy, and more aptly labelled "democratising countries".[91] Even when the form of government is formally democratic, the political system may still be patrimonial or neopatrimonial, implying that governance is based on personal ties and various forms of patron-client relations.[92] The leader receives the support from his subordinates and subjects in return for various "favours" (e.g. in the form of jobs or protection), a system which often works at all levels of political authority—with Mobuto's Zaïre as the most infamous example.[93] However, such (neo)patrimonial rule is vulnerable to any economic downturn which may jeopardise the "trickling down" of favours and resources through the system. The state should further conform to the Weberian view of a "rational-legal polity" (as opposed to a "traditional" or a "charismatic" one),[94] and it should enjoy a "monopoly on the legitimate use of force"[95] with a clear division of labour among the various state agencies, combined with a clear (hierarchical) distribution of powers and responsibilities—all of which are rare exceptions, rather than the rule, in Africa and the rest of the developing world.
- **Administrative capacity** may contribute (alongside neopatrimonialism) to providing even non-democratic governments with a degree of "performance legitimacy", which may arguably serve as a partial substitute for a deficient or completely lacking procedural legitimacy.[96] If an incumbent government can ensure law and order, degrees of freedom and perhaps even perform various "welfare functions", its claim to power may not actually be questioned by the majority of the population—especially in countries without any tradition of democracy. Unfortunately, however, most Third World states also score low with regard to performance, if only because their services are usually performed by a bureaucracy which is not at all imbued with a "Weberian" ethos of service, but rather infected by corruption.[97]
- **Civil-military relations.** Ideally the armed forces and the rest of the "security sector" should also conform to the Weberian ideal, accept civilian

supremacy and abstain from any interference in politics. “Objective control”, according to Samuel Huntington should ensure “that distribution of political power between military and civilian groups which is most conducive to the emergence of professional attitudes and behavior among the members of the officers corps”, and which would allow them to perform well as “the tool of the state”, where “a highly professional officers corps stands ready to carry out the wishes of any civilian group which secures legitimate authority within the state”.[98] However, in many weak states around the Third World, the danger of “praetorianism” looms large,[99] as the armed forces seek to control the state as such, e.g. via actual or threatened military coups.[100] They may do so either in order to protect their specific institutional or even personal interests (as typically in Latin America or West Africa)[101] or in a (usually misguided) attempt at “saving the nation from itself”, as may be the case of, for instance, Turkey and Pakistan.[102] Proper labels might be “predatory” and “patriotic praetorians”, respectively. Alternatively, the state and the military may develop a malign form of symbiosis, where the entire state (or even society as a whole) becomes thoroughly militarised—as was the case of the former USSR and South Africa and remains the case of, e.g., Israel and China even today.[103]

Weak and Failed States

The above elements of statehood are interrelated, which means that weakness in one respect can easily produce other weaknesses and generate vicious circles of conflict, further weakening the State. The weakness (or “softness”, as Gunnar Myrdal called it) of many states, mostly but not exclusively in the Third World, is due to several factors, including the colonial past and the very short period in which to build a state in comparison with the centuries available for European state-building.[104]

While state weakness is thus endemic to the Third World, and not least Africa, only some states have ended up in the category of “failed states”, also referred to as “collapsed” or “quasi-states”.[105] Examples of failed states are Somalia and Afghanistan, which have, for protracted periods, been stateless to all practical intents and purposes.[106] Others states are better labelled “quasi-states”,[107] as the state remains as an almost empty shell endowed with “formal sovereignty” (also known as “external” or “negative sovereignty”) which is, however, unaccompanied by any “empirical sovereignty”. Such a state is recognised by other states as sovereign, and thus protected by the norm of non-interference in internal affairs, but it has no actual control (“internal” or “positive sovereignty”) over what happens within its sovereign domain.[108] Most states have, however, managed to “muddle through” from crisis to crisis without any actual collapse.[109]

Security and Conflict

Most of the conflicts in the political sphere as well as many others revolve around "security" in one sense or the other, i.e. they are driven by the security concerns of one actor, or both. Hence, a lasting resolution to any given conflict tends to presuppose that both or all sides to it are, or at least feel, secure.

We thus need to devote some attention to the very concept "security", which has indeed become the subject of numerous analyses over the last decade or so.[110] The general trend has been a move away from a rather narrow, state-centric and militarised conception ("national security"), via one focusing on national and other identities ("societal security"), to a much wider concept which includes concerns for human rights, development, gender issues, etc., labelled "human security". The latter may, indeed, be much more relevant for Africa than the narrower conceptions.

Security and Securitisation

In International Relations (IR), the term "security" was used, until recently, in a rather narrow sense, i.e. as almost synonymous with military power, and it was assumed that it was mainly a function of the distribution of this military power. The more favourable the military balance was to a state, the more secure is was assumed to be.

Surprisingly little was, however, written about the *concept* of security (as opposed to strategies for achieving it) by the IR theoreticians. In his seminal work on Realism, the grand old man of Realism, Hans Morgenthau, thus hardly bothered to define "security".[111] Arnold Wolfers was thus almost alone in venturing a definition, which has gradually become standard: "Security, in an objective sense, measures the absence of threats to acquired values, in a subjective sense, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked."[112] However, even this definition begs a number of questions: Whose values might be threatened and which are they? Who or what might threaten them and how? Whose fears should count and how might one distinguish between sincere and faked ones? And should the "absence" of threats and/or fear be understood in absolute or relative terms?

In contrast to IR, peace researchers have for decades endeavoured to develop meaningful conceptions of security as well as (closely related) of peace and violence.[113] This preoccupation has also reflected their longstanding interest in development issues[114] and the generally shared wish to avoid the pitfalls of the ethnocentrism, which has arguably always characterised IR.[115] Both Johan Galtung's term "positive peace" and Kenneth Boulding's "stable peace" might thus, in retrospect, be seen as precursors of the emerging, expanded security

concept.[116] For "security" to be genuine and durable, it would have to be based on a positive or stable peace structure. This would entail considerably more than a mere "negative peace", tantamount to an absence of war, in its turn representing merely one particular form of "direct violence". Genuine peace and security would thus presuppose an elimination (or at least a reduction) of "structural violence", i.e. the relative deprivation of large parts of the world population (*vide supra*). Thus conceived, a "positive peace" was more or less synonymous with what is today referred to as "human security" (*vide infra*).

Since the 1990s many members of the IR community have accepted the challenge of developing broader conceptions of security.[117] Barry Buzan and his collaborators at the now disbanded Copenhagen Peace Research Institute, COPRI (sometimes referred to as the "Copenhagen School") have belonged to the theoretical vanguard in this endeavour with their analyses of national as well as "societal" security (*vide infra*).[118] However, while acknowledging the need for shifting the focus from the (now defunct) East-West conflict and military matters,[119] most members of the IR and "strategic studies" (now often re-labelled "security studies") communities have continued to oppose what they regard as an inappropriate expansion of the concept.

Even though a consensus thus seems to be emerging on the need for a certain widening, disagreement persists about where to draw the line. To expand the notion of security excessively—say, to include the absence of all types of problems and conflicts at all levels—would not be practical, since it would merely create the need for an additional term for "traditional security", now relegated to being merely one species of the genus "security". Not to widen the concept at all, on the other hand, might relegate security studies to a very marginalized position, if (as seems likely) "traditional" security problems will be perceived as having a sharply diminishing saliency.

The quest for a "correct" definition of an "essentially contested concept"[120] such as "security" is probably futile. Rather, this is a matter of definitions which may be more or less useful or relevant, and which may both reflect and impact on power relations, but which can be neither right nor wrong. "Constructivists" are thus probably right in dismissing the quest for concepts that are "correct" in the sense of corresponding to a pre-existing reality, if only because this "reality" is itself socially constructed, *inter alia* by means of concepts such as "peace" and "security".

Mindful of being part of the game himself all the analyst can do may be to analyse how concepts are used, and how the security discourse is thus evolving.[121] As argued by Ole Wæver and others the challenge is thus to analyse the security discourse as a complex set of "speech acts", i.e. to explore the

evolving "securitisation" and "desecuritisation" of issues.[122] Among other advantages, this approach induces caution with regard to elevating too many problems to the exalted status of "security problems", which inevitably has political implications, some of which may be undesirable.

First of all, in the political discourse to label something a security problem may be (ab)used by the powers that be for making certain issues "taboo" and for marginalising their ideological opponents. A matter with alleged (national) security implications is arguably "off limits", i.e. not a totally legitimate subject for political or academic debate, but one where everybody has to show loyalty to the common cause. In order to prevent such a closure of important debates, a relevant political goal might be a "desecuritisation" of pertinent issues, which may allow for a more open and fruitful debate. For instance, Russia is no longer seen as a security problem for the West, which allows for a more constructive and unbiased weighing of alternative options for how to relate to it.

Secondly, certain strata in society may benefit from securitisation, e.g. because they are traditionally viewed (and view themselves) as responsible for "security", however defined. To securitise various problems may thus provide the security services with a justification for their claim to national resources, which may not be desirable.[123] "Critical security studies" devote themselves, inter alia, to uncovering such interests and power games influencing the security discourse.[124]

On the other hand, what might speak in favour of proclaiming something a security problem is that this attaches a label of urgency to the issue. Hence the attraction of, for instance, securitising environmental problems, which is tantamount to imbuing them with "existential" importance. Unless solved without delay such a problem may destroy all other values, which warrants giving it absolute first priority. The same argument might be made about HIV/AIDS.[125]

Whether to expand the concept of security or not, and if so in which direction and to what extent, are thus matters both of political choice and analytical convenience. In the following I shall analyse how it might be expanded whilst paying some attention to both the positive and negative political implications thereof. In principle, expansion can take place along different "axes", i.e. as answers to various questions, which may be subdivided according to how radically they depart from the prevailing orthodoxy (See Table 5).

Table 5: Expanded Concepts of "Security"				
Degree	**Label**	**Referent Object**	**Value at risk**	**Source(s) of threat**
No expan-sion	National Security	The state	Sovereignty Territorial integrity	Other states (Substate actors)
Incremental	Societal security	Nations Societal groups	National unity Identity	Migrants Alien culture
Radical	Human security	Individuals Mankind	Survival Quality of life	The State Globalization

- Security of whom? This is the question of focus, i.e. of the appropriate "referent object" (in the terminology of Buzan *& al.*, whereas Bill McSweeney prefers the term "subject").[126] Three types of entities immediately spring to mind which might be either secure or insecure: the state, other human collectives or the individual, more about which shortly.
- Security of what? Depending on what the referent object is, its security will be a matter of an absence of threats to different values, i.e. it may have completely different connotations.
- Security from whom or what? This is the question of the sources of threat. Different values may obviously be placed in jeopardy by different actors, in addition to which there may be numerous "structural" threats (global warming, for example) without any direct agents. These might, in principle, also be securitised even though they rarely are.

Depending on which values are supposed to be threatened by whom or what threats may, furthermore, appear in different dimensions (or "sectors"), such as the military domain, the environment, or the economy—a matter which I shall leave largely untouched.

From National to Societal Security

Most of the "traditional "security discourse continues to revolve around the state, but even here it makes sense to distinguish between orthodox security studies and "alternative security studies". What characterized the traditional IR approach to "security", especially during the era of almost unchallenged dominance of Realism and Neorealism,[127] was a focus on the state as the referent object. Even though the preferred term was "national" security, this was strictly speaking a misnomer, because nations are not the same as states, except in a score or so of genuine nation-states (Japan, for instance) where nation and state happen to be (almost) coterminous (*vide supra*).

While most "Realists" have placed the main emphasis on military threats from other states, hence also on military strength as the most reliable safeguard of "national security", a few authors have held a somewhat broader view of

national security, e.g. by including the economic dimension of security—if only as a consequence of their acknowledgement that power is, among other things, determined by economic strength.[128]

National (i.e. state) security was, moreover, all too often equated with the security of the regime in power. Contrary to the Hobbesian view of the state, however, if controlled by an unscrupulous regime the state often ceases to be a protector of its citizens and becomes a security threat to them, as in the case of various African "vampire states"[129] or totalitarian regimes. However, the rules of the game of "Westphalia" privilege existing states, regardless of their nature, and proscribe interference into "domestic affairs", i.e. everything taking place within the territorially defined exclusive domain of the sovereign states comprising the system.

The Copenhagen School mentioned above has advocated accepting human collectivities as possible "referent objects" of security alongside states. The particular form of security applicable to such collective, yet non-state, referent objects is labelled "societal security", which in the seminal work on the topic was defined by Ole Wæver as

> ... the ability of a society to persist in its essential character under changing conditions and possible or actual threats (...) the sustainability, within acceptable conditions for evolution, of traditional patterns of language, culture, association, and religious and national identity and custom.[130]

Societal security is thus a matter of "identity", which has indeed become quite a fashionable topic in IR theory.[131] It resonates quite well with the re-discovery of the cultural aspects of international relations (as in the "clash of civilizations" debate),[132] just as it corresponds to the actual "securitisation" of such phenomena as migration or "cultural imperialism".

Unfortunately, it also holds to potential of appealing to xenophobic political groupings on the extreme right with whom the authors surely do not want to join ranks. Combined with the aforementioned methodology of discourse analysis and the post-modern rejection of "objectivist ethics",[133] one might fear that the theory (however inadvertently) may simply lead to "rubber-stamping" all assertions of threats to national (or ethnic) security as equally valid. If there are no objective yardsticks against which to measure such allegations, the analyst is confined to merely recording what is being securitised, perhaps by opportunistic leaders seeking power by playing the "nationalist card" in a manipulatory fashion.[134]

This was part of the critique raised by Bill McSweeney against the Copenhagen School. Another part of his critique was the continuing focus of the state, albeit

no longer as the sole referent object, but as the mechanism through which all securitisation attempts have to pass. Finally, the "school" (if so it is) was criticized for privileging some possible identities over others, namely national and ethnic ones. Rather than assuming *a priori* that these are always the most salient identities, the analyst should adopt a scientific approach, requiring actual sociological investigations into how people rank-order their various identities.[135]

Even though "societal security" as a concept supposedly applies to any human collective, it has almost exclusively focused on national and ethnic collectives (viz. McSweeney's above-mentioned critique). Important though these certainly are, one might also envision cleavages among other societal groupings, which might eventually come to be securitised. A first step in this direction would surely be political organization. Most likely seem to be a possible (societal) securitisation of religion or gender.

Religion has already been extensively politicised, if only because of its close links to some forms of nationalism (*vide supra*).[136] A few nations are thus defined in religious terms, which entails the risk that "alien" religions may come to be viewed as threats to national cohesion, hence securitised. To the extent that nations or states are not defined in religious terms, but as secular, the politisation of any religion (even the "national" one) may likewise come to be seen as threat, even to national security—as in modern-day Turkey or India, or in certain Arab states where radical Islamist movements threaten already Muslim states.[137] Even in the case of stable and cohesive states such as those of the West we see this phenomenon, as in the growing securitisation of Islam by the West, not merely in the shape of allegations to the effect that Islamic states constitute a threat to peace, but also with a societal security twist, arguing that Islam (personified by migrants) is a threat to Western civilization.[138]

Gender might, in principle also be securitised, as indicated by various strains of "feminist IR studies", the gist of which seems to be that the traditional focus on the state reflects male domination, and that the concurrent emphasis on military means corresponds to innate male aggression, hence that an empowerment of women would produce more genuine and lasting security.[139] Both these topics also have obvious human security aspects, if only because they are regulated in several human rights conventions.

Human Security

Just as societal security may thus endanger individual security, the state-centred approach to security has been charged with neglecting the people, i.e. of jeopardising human security. This is basically a matter of human well-being and, in the last analysis, survival of people, regardless of their national or other affiliations.[140]

"Human security" has, indeed, become something of a buzzword, used both by UN agencies, national development aid agencies and international as well as national NGO. The UNDP has been in the forefront of the this debate, as illustrated by the following quotations:

> The concept of security must change-from an exclusive stress on national security to a much greater stress on people's security, from security through armaments to security through human development, from territorial security to food, employment and environmental security (*Human Development Report 1993*)[141]
> For most people today, a feeling of insecurity arises more from worries about daily life than from the dread of a cataclysmic world event. Job security, income security, health security, environmental security, security from crime-these are the emerging concerns of human security all over the world. (..)
> Human security is relevant to people everywhere, in rich nations and in poor. The threats to their security may differ—hunger and disease in poor nations and drugs and crime in rich nations-but these threats are real and growing. (...)
> Most people instinctively understand what security means. It means safety from the constant threats of hunger, disease, crime and repression. It also means protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the pattern of our daily lives-whether in our homes, in our jobs, in our communities or in our environment (*Human Development Report 1994*).[142]

Thus conceived human security may indeed be placed in jeopardy by an unrestrained quest for national security, say if the latter should involve war. Hence, for instance, the uncomfortable dilemma whether to place the survival of the population at risk for the sake of such intangible values as sovereignty—or whether a developing state should invest heavily in the implements of state security (i.e. armed forces) at the inevitable expense of economic development?[143]

According to a "cosmopolitan" ethics,[144] what really matters is the survival and well being of the individuals or, as the utilitarians formulated it, "the greatest happiness principle".[145] Such happiness is, of course, compatible with, but only rarely presupposes, the sovereignty of one's state, or for that matter the cohesion of one's nation or other societal group.

There are thus different forms of security, with "national" (i.e. state) security, societal and human security constituting the main categories, defined by the different referent objects (state, societal group, individual). As threats to the different values of the various referent objects (sovereignty, identity and survival) may appear in many different shapes, all three categories have different "dimensions" or "sectors" such as the military, economic, and environmental ones. While this may make for a neat analytical framework, the real world is less orderly, if only because the different forms of security impinge upon each other, and strategies to achieve one may jeopardise the others. Hence

the need for a comprehensive approach to security as an integral part of understanding conflict.

The Structure of Conflict

Not only are conflicts "about" certain issues, which may be analytically disentangled as attempted above. They also exhibit specific structures, reflecting, among other things, the nature and goals of the conflicting parties and their interaction.

The Number of Parties

All conflicts pit actors against each other, even though the term "actor" may be a misnomer in the case of latent conflicts, in which the parties may not even be aware of their conflicting interests, much less act accordingly i.e. exhibiting no conflict behaviour.

It obviously matters for the structure and pattern of the conflict how many actors are involved

- Some conflicts are, by their very nature, dyadic as are the interpersonal disputes between husband and wife, the societal conflicts between Hutus and Tutsis in the Great Lakes Region, the international conflicts between two states over a piece of territory such as the Ethiopia-Eritrea war or the global bipolar conflict of the Cold War, which pitted two opposing alliances against each other, each led by a superpower. Dyadic conflicts tend to be easier to analyse, e.g. by means of game theory (*vide infra*) and often easier to solve (at least in the sense of devising solutions, if not of implementing them) than conflicts with several actors, simply because the "arithmetic" is less complex.
- Other conflicts involve several parties, but can nevertheless reasonably be analysed—at least for certain purposes—as dyadic or bipolar, because the pattern of alignment between the parties is fairly stable, as was the case with the East-West conflict where it was virtually inconceivable that states might change sides.[146] The further the analysis moved away from Europe, or the more it focused on the role of neutrals, however, the more misleading it became to view the conflict as bipolar, i.e. "quasi-dyadic".[147]
- Still other conflicts are, by their very nature, non-dyadic, i.e. polyadic or multipolar. Alliances between the actors shift rapidly and almost randomly—as was, e.g. the case in the Lebanese conflict, the struggle between the Somali clans or those in Afghanistan.[148] In such cases the balance of power (a rather fuzzy notion to begin with) becomes difficult to determine and a stable one hard to devise and even harder to realise.[149]

The misleading term notwithstanding, “third parties” are not parties to a conflict as such, but merely get involved in it in various capacities or combinations thereof as set out in Table 9 below.

- As “mediators”, seeking to broker an agreement between the real parties to a conflict—a role traditionally assumed by states, but increasingly viewed as the responsibility of international organisations, and sometimes even attempted by NGOs. We shall revisit this topic in the following chapter on conflict management and resolution..
- As “balancers” seeking to either preserve a fragile balance of power between the contestants or help tipping it, e.g. in the attempt to bring about an end to the conflict through a victory for one side. As a means to both ends the sale or donation of arms is often used.[150]
- As “mitigators” who do not deal with the conflict as such, but merely with its consequences, e.g. by providing humanitarian relief to its victims or granting refuge or asylum to the people fleeing from the conflict—roles which tend to be shared between states, international organisations (e.g. UN branches such as the UNHCR) and NGOs such as *Médicins sans Frontieres* or the Red Cross.

Finally, of course, third parties, in their passive capacity as innocent bystanders, quite often find themselves as victims of a conflict—as is indeed the case of the civilian population in most armed conflicts, be they international or intra-state.

Dyadic Conflicts: Formal Theories

Dyadic conflicts have exerted a particularly strong appeal to that “tribe” within conflict studies which seeks to apply formal theories at a very elevated level of abstraction to the study of conflict, treating them as games featuring actors “A” and “B” with a total (and deliberate) disregard for their defining features.

Table 6: Game Matrix		**B**	
		Alternative 1	**Alternative 2**
A	**Alternative 1**	A's Payoff, B's Payoff	A's Payoff, B's Payoff
	Alternative 2	A's Payoff, B's Payoff	A's Payoff, B's Payoff

“Game theory” is in actual fact not so much a theory as a specialised terminology, which is presumably suitable for describing and analysing strategic moves. It presupposes individual rationality on the part of the actors, and its level of analysis is thus not so much actual human decision-making as the behaviour of a *homo strategicus*, remarkably similar to the *homo economicus* of economic theory.[151] The matrix of a typical two-person game might look as in Table 6.

A common distinction is that between “games against nature” in which one player is passive and unresponsive, and “games of strategy” where the two players interact. A further distinction is that between zero-sum, mixed-motive and cooperative games.

During the Cold War, most attention was focused on two-person zero-sum games, which appeared as an adequate description of the bipolar and highly antagonistic set of international relations. Game theory was thus also a convenient language in which to formulate strategies for how to handle this confrontation, unfortunately mostly in confrontational ways. In zero-sum games the gains of one player equal the losses of the other, i.e. they are games of pure conflict where both sides have to focus on relative gains and losses. For instance, even though both might “lose” the arms race in the sense of expending resources without achieving a usable preponderance of strength, it might still make sense to “race”, if only the respective adversary would lose more than oneself, as this would be tantamount to a relative gain.[152]

The most extreme zero-sum game was labelled “Chicken” by nuclear strategists such as Herman Kahn, who wanted to justify their call for “escalation dominance”.[153] “Chicken” depicts two (male) youngsters eager to demonstrate their courage by driving head-on towards each other in their cars in order to impress spectators (mainly girls). Whoever turns first, i.e. “chickens out”, loses (value -1), whereas the one who holds his course wins (value +1). However, if neither one turns the two drivers inevitably collide head-on and both probably die (value -10), as set out in Table 7. This predictable outcome has been used by opponents of nuclear weapons to illustrate the possible consequences of nuclear arms racing and posturing.

Table 7: “Chicken”		**B**	
		Turn	**Hold Course**
A	**Turn**	-1,-1	-1,+1
	Hold Course	+1,-1	-10,-10

Game theory has, however, also been used to devise less suicidal strategies for such confrontational games as well as for the analysis of less confrontational games, i.e. cooperative and mixed-motive games.

“Prisoner's Dilemma” is a mixed-motive game and might in fact be seen as a formal version of the security dilemma described below. Two apprehended criminals (A and B for short) are stipulated to be interrogated by the police simultaneously, but separately and without being able to communicate with each other. Each of them is promised a lenient sentence in return for giving evidence against the respective other. It is understood that if neither testifies against the

other, both will have to be acquitted for lack of evidence. The expected payoffs for the two prisoners are as set out in Table 8, where an acquittal has been given the value +2, a light sentence the value -1 and a harsh one that of -2. "Cooperation" refers to the relationship between the two prisoners, i.e. implies keeping silent, whereas "defection" means confessing and testifying against the other. Since A has no way of knowing whether B will give evidence, he has to assume the worst, namely that the other will indeed testify, under which presumption he will be better off testifying himself. Since B faces the same alternatives, both (according to game theory) will end up testifying against each other and both will be convicted (value: -1), thus doing considerably worse than if they had cooperated (+2).

Table 8: Prisoner's Dilemma		B	
		Cooperate	**Defect**
A	**Cooperate**	+2,+2	-2,-1
	Defect	-1,-2	-1,-1

It has been demonstrated that the prisoner's dilemma has no "solution", i.e. that both sides invariably end up with sub-optimal payoffs. The problem lies with the structure of the conflict (i.e. the "game") itself rather than with the actors. Even though the likely outcome is clearly suboptimal for both sides (albeit not for society), they are likely to arrive at it, not because of irrationality, but precisely because they are assumed to act rationally—i.e. cautiously and selfishly—which is surely not an unreasonable assumption. The payoff structure is simply a recipe for continuing and escalating violent conflict. Hence, cooperation between partial adversaries may never be initiated, regardless of how mutually advantageous.

However, it has also been shown that iterated prisoner's dilemma games may lend themselves more easily to cooperation. Fortunately, this notion of long (sometimes of indefinite duration) series of encounters between the parties may be a better way of conceptualising most conflicts of the real world, where the same parties (be they individuals, ethnic groups or countries) tend to find themselves up against each other over and over again.[154]

The Security Dilemma

Considering that, as argued above, security concerns are a salient issue in most political (and some other) conflicts, it is surely important whether the quest for security is viewed in zero-sum or variable-sum terms. Unfortunately the former tends to be the case at all levels of analysis, where we encounter various varieties of the so-called "security dilemma".

- The national security dilemma is most elaborately described in IR literature.[155] At the international level, states face the dilemma of not knowing whether their neighbours have aggressive or peaceful and defensive intentions. Hence, they have to assume the worst and prepare themselves to be able to defend against an attack, either by an arms build-up, by entering an alliance or even by striking pre-emptively. These preparations will confirm the suspicions of neighbouring states about aggressive intentions, and these states are likely to feel the need for countervailing action, thereby confirming the suspicions of the first state, etc. The dilemma resides in the choice between either preparing for a possible attack, but thereby risking bringing it about, or not preparing for it, thereby accepting vulnerability and possible extinction if an attack should occur.
- The "societal security dilemma" is a new invention or discovery.[156] The IR discipline's "capital R" realists tend to simply transpose the theory of the security dilemma from the state to ethnic groups, conceived of as "proto-states"—as some of them may well be, while others certainly are not. Those which are do, indeed, face a security dilemma very similar to that of states, i.e. they can only defend themselves against the respective other by means which will appear as threats to the other, thereby eliciting a response which diminishes the security of both sides.
- The "human security dilemma" has in fact been described at length for centuries, albeit not labelled as such. Hobbes thus described society in the state of nature as a perpetual *bellum omnium contra omnes*. This permanent "state of warre", according to Hobbes, stemmed from the basic equality of man in terms of abilities as well as of needs, which made every man the natural contender of his fellow human beings for the scarce available resources—hence: *homo homini lupus*. The only escape from the resultant dilemma between "anticipation" (i.e. attack) and extinction was the establishment of the state (the "Leviathan"),[157] endowed with a monopoly, or at least an overwhelming preponderance of power.

However, if a state's administrative capacities degenerate, including its ability to ensure personal safety of its citizens, it may well find itself on the path towards a "privatisation of security" as has happened to several states, not least in Africa.[158] If the police and other security services are unreliable, citizens and companies tend to resort to self-help, e.g. by soliciting the services of private security companies, but thereby only hastening the decline of the state's "monopoly on the legitimate use of force".[159]

Conflict Parties

In the real world, of course, actors or conflict parties come in many shapes and sizes, few of which resemble the actors known from game theory or other formal theories.

Nature of the Actors

The nature of the actors, for obvious reasons, differs from level to level as illustrated in Table 9, which merely lists dyadic conflicts, i.e. conflicts between two parties, albeit with the involvement of "third parties".

Table 9: Parties to Dyadic Conflicts (examples)

Actors / Conflict Level	Main Actor 1	Main Actor 2	"Third Parties"
International	State	State	Various actors: • States. • International Organisations (regional and global) • NGOs • Individuals In roles as: • Mediators • Balancers • Mitigators • Victims
Transnational	State	Guerillas Terrorists NGOs Refugees/IDPs	
Intrastate	State Political party Militias, Guerillas Warlords, Terrorists	Opposition parties Religious groups Trade unions Militias, Guerillas Warlords Terrorists	
Interpersonal	Person	Person	

As far as the actual parties to a conflict are concerned, a number of parameters are significant:

- Do the actors exhibit such internal cohesion that they can reasonably be analysed as unitary actors, or do they exhibit such internal divisions that they must be treated as plural. While some analysist, particularly of the "realist" persuasion such as Kenneth Waltz insist on treating states as unitary actors, others view state policies as "outputs" produced by the "inputs" from various subnational actors struggling among themselves.[160] As far as non-state, but still collective, actors are concerned, they tend to be (correctly) viewed and analysed as comprising different groups with different agendas. For instance, while one would often refer to "Israel" as a unitary actor, few serious analysist would treat "the Palestinian resistance" as one.[161]
- To which categories do the actors belong? Some may be states, which may or may not be treated as unitary actors, while others are societal groupings of various kinds, institutions or even individuals.
- Is the conflict "symmetrical", pitting like units against each other, or asymmetrical in the sense of taking place between actors belonging to different categories? Traditional wars were, by definition, conflicts between "like units" (differering in size, location etc, but not in terms of nature).[162] Most other conflicts, however, are asymmetrical. Either they pit the state as

an institution, or the incumbent regime, against rebels of various sorts or transnational foes such as terrorist networks;[163] or they pit groups or persons against each other, which may or may not belong to the same "species" or "genus", e.g. religious fanatics against people who want to keep politics and religion separate.

- What resources do the actors have at their disposal, are these of the same kind and, if so, what is the balance of power between the actors, if indeed one can be determined? This may not be the case when the conflicting parties are strong in different dimensions as was, for instance, the case in the long struggle between the communist regime in Poland and the Catholic Church. Whereas the former was stronger in material terms, the latter's strength was "symbolic".
- What are the goals and strategies of the actors? The following section is devoted to this question.

Conflict Goals

Irrespectively of the issue of contention, the conflicting parties may have different objectives and act upon these in different ways, in both cases with a significant impact on the structure of the conflict as such as well as on the opportunities for conflict prevention, mitigation and resolution. The aims may be arranged along a continuum of moderation and radicalism, as in Table 10.

Table 10: Conflict Goals

Moderate	◄———					**Radical**
Recognition	**Rights**	**Equality**	**Privilege**	**Domination**	**Expulsion**	**Extermination**

- *Recognition:* The most moderate aims is to be recognised as a party to the conflict, which is not always self-evident. Just think of the struggle of the Palestinians to be recognised as a nation (as opposed to being mere a segment of a larger Arab nation) and that of the PLO to be acknowledged as their legitimate representative.[164]
- *Rights:* Next comes the achievement of some specified entitlements, be that in terms of human rights or of material goods.[165]
- *Equality:* Still moderate are claims for "equality" in the same respects—something which is often less "fair" and equitable that it might appear at first glance, especially when applied to groups (e.g. in the form of equality between a majority and a minority). Nevertheless, it has the advantage that it can, by its very definition, be enjoyed by both sides simultaneously.
- *Privilege*, on the other hand, is something which one side enjoys over the other and thus usually at the other's expense.
- *Domination* is an even more radical objective, if only because it can only be enjoyed by one side to a conflict at the expense of the other. Only one can be

"king of the hill". However, it does not automatically rule out the granting of specific rights to the dominated party.

- *Expulsion* is a very radical objective, tantamount to striving to be "alone on the hill" by means of ethnic (or other) "cleansing", as happened in the former Yugoslavia. Its appeal tends to be strongest in protracted conflicts characterised by widespread violence (or even genocide), when two groups have developed such an intense mistrust of each other that co-habitation seems intolerable to one or, indeed, both sides. Radical though it is, even this objective may allow for compromise, e.g. in the form of secession-*cum*-relocation.[166]
- *Extermination* is the most radical objective that any conflict party can pursue, namely to get rid of the other side once and for all. On the interpersonal level, it simply means killing the other party, while at the collective (i.e. societal) level it is tantamount to killing the members of the opposing group—as the Nazi party attempted with regard to the Jews and the extreme Hutus in Rwanda with regard to the Tutsis (and moderate Hutus) in 1994. For obvious reasons such an objective does not lend really itself to compromise at all.

Conflict Behaviour

Not all conflicting sides to all conflicts behave in the same way. Behaviour differs not merely because of different objectives, but also as a function of the means at the disposal of each side. It thus makes sense to make distinctions with regard to the means employed by the competing sides. They may be arranged according to the degree of violence, ranging from the peaceful voicing of grievances to fully-fledged genocide.

- *Dialogue* is obviously the most pacific way of dealing with conflicts and one for which democracies are renowned.[167] In many cases, however, the very setting for dialogue is highly controversial, and cultural divides may hamper mutual understanding, even within countries.[168]
- *Non-violent means of coercion.* There are numerous ways of "fighting out" a conflict by non-violent means, including elections, demonstrations, strikes, etc.[169] Some are, as opposed to dialogue, openly confrontational, even though they do not employ physical violence.
- *Sporadic violence* sometimes occurs spontaneously, e.g. by individual members of opposing groups acting on their own behalf. Unfortunately, this may generate an escalatory momentum, by providing the "victimised" party with motives for "getting even", etc. Beyond a certain point, the use of violence may come to be seen as justified and "normal".
- *Massive and systematic violence* may either occur as a result of things thus getting out of control, or it may be used as a deliberate strategy by one side, e.g. for intimidation and coercion—as may well have been the rationale for

atrocities committed by the RUF (Revolutionary United Front) against civilians, including its infamous use of amputations.

- *Genocide* represents the most radical and violent form of conflict behaviour,[170] one party seeking the violent extermination of the respective other, as was the case of the 1994 Rwandan genocide.

The Psychological Dimension

Part of the explanation why conflicts may escalate to such extremes as genocide is to be found within the minds of the conflicting sides.

The most simplistic answer to the puzzle of motivation can be fairly easily dismissed, namely that human beings are inherently aggressive. There are, of course, various biological and psychological theories, which argue along these lines, but also ample evidence to the contrary.[171] Rather than killing instinctively, man seems (as many other species) to "suffer" from an instinctive aversion to killing members of his own species, which must (and can) be overcome through training.[172] Psychopaths and sociopaths do, of course, exist, but they are (fortunately) far too rare to provide any satisfactory explanation for the frequent occurrence of atrocities in conflicts.

Social (as opposed to individual) psychology may provide better clues to understanding what makes people in special social contexts behave aggressively—i.e. how they are socialised to accept and even to personally perpetrate violence.[173] In the realm of individual as well as social psychology we find a number of theories about how people perceive their environment, which may go some way towards explaining their behaviour. Human perception and cognition simply exhibit certain patters, which may help understand the propensity for aggression.

For instance, in order to better grasp and cope with their environment people almost automatically strive to avoid "cognitive dissonance", i.e. they seek to interpret their observations in such a way as to reduce seeming inconsistencies, such as a friend behaving wrongfully or a foe acting benevolently.[174] Furthermore, there is an almost inescapable tendency to apply different standards to one's own behaviour and that of an adversary—simply because one can ascertain one's own motives directly through introspection, whereas one has to deduce those of others from their actions. Such actions always lend themselves to several different interpretations and the selection process is likely to be influenced by the quest for cognitive consonance. Even seemingly benign acts by an actor categorised as malevolent may be construed as tactical moves intended to make oneself less alert to the next (and presumably malignant) move. Conversely, the apparently malignant actions on the part of oneself or friends can easily be construed as enforced, i.e. as reactions to the actual or

anticipated moves by the malevolent adversary.

From such misperceptions and misinterpretations may develop “enemy images”, which are almost impervious to refutation. They add venom to any conflict, as the enemy is seen as not merely pursuing conflicting interests, but as being malevolent or even evil—as in U.S. President Bush’s labelling the U.S. adversaries an “axis of evil”.[175] Such labelling may easily set in motion an interactive cycle that could lead to violent confrontation.[176]

A field of special attention for psychologists preoccupied with conflict (or for political scientists and conflict analysts interested in psychology) has been cases where small groups of individuals, because of their special position in society, may take decisions of potentially nationwide or even universal significance. This was the case when the leaders of the two superpowers contemplated their behaviour vis-à-vis each other—most dramatically and well documented in the 1962 Cuban missile crisis which could have triggered a nuclear war and thereby global conflagration.[177] In such settings, decisions are presumably heavily influenced by perceptional factors and various social psychological mechanisms which may well produce irrational behaviour, caused by combinations of stress and “group-think”. The latter mechanism, well documented from psychological experiments, makes a group of individuals think increasingly along similar lines, thereby removing alternative options from consideration. While this may be conducive to such concerted action as is required in an intense crisis, it can also produce decisions with disastrous implications.[178]

Entire nations or cultures may arguably develop such “group-think” in the sense of enemy images or permissive attitudes to violence which are shared by all members of the community due to socialisation. This phenomenon has long been described by anthropologists who have identified both “cultures of violence” and profoundly peaceful and non-violent societies.[179] More recently the phenomena of ideas and culture have also been taken up by IR scholars.[180] This phenomenon is closely related to that of (national or group) “identity”, as human collectives tend to identify themselves through culture, but typically also by being different from “the Other”—which often leads to hostility towards this Other and arguably sometimes even presupposes violence, which confirms “otherness” and thus also one’s own identity.[181] One way of analysing these patterns of identification and “otherisation” is through discourse analysis, which can also uncover hidden patterns of attribution and framing in the language used.[182] Discourse analysis has also been applied to explaining the behaviour of states, e.g. in arms races,[183] and to understanding terrorist acts against states as a form of communication.[184]

One particular field of discourse is, of course, the mass media, which exhibit all of the above features such as group-think and enemy images—and which have the potential of almost causing war and at least of creating permissive attitudes towards the use of violence in the general public.[185] A particularly nasty example of this was the "hate radio" in Rwanda prior to and during the 1994 genocide.[186] However, also advanced states have deliberately used the media as part of their war efforts.

Conflict Patterns

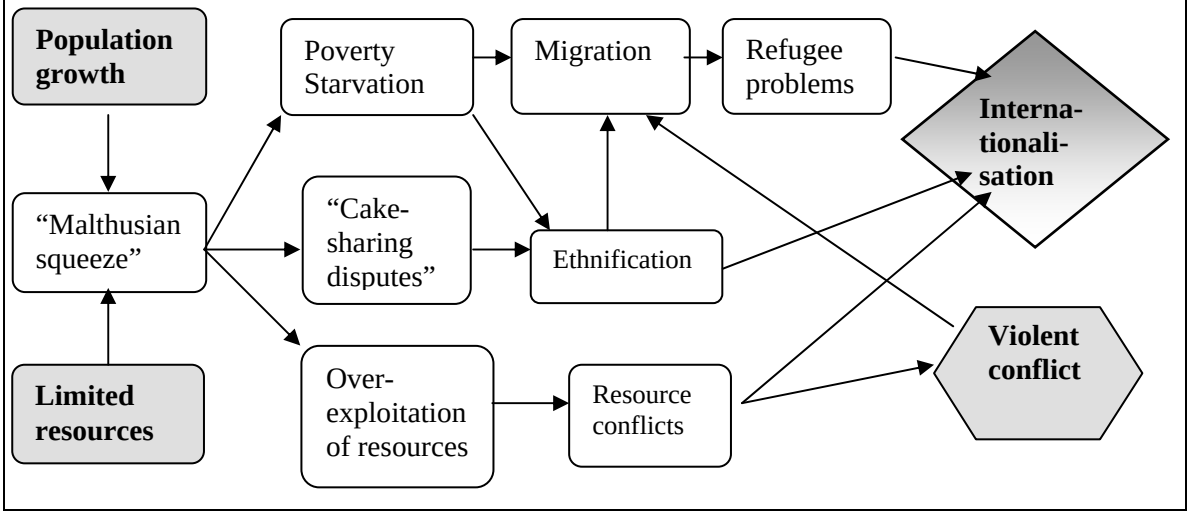
Regardless of their causes and the parties involved, conflicts tend to exhibit certain patterns of evolution, i.e. to follow certain paths. To identify these paths is often a precondition for understanding them and, even more so, of managing and even resolve them.

Causal Paths

Monocausality is rare, as conflicts often have several, mutually reinforcing, structural (or "root") causes which interact, thereby creating a path of conflict. It is thus often possible to trace (at least retrospectively) the path of a conflict from its latent stage to that of open and violent strife. Fig. 1.4 illustrates merely one such possible conflict path, the root cause of which is stipulated to be a scarcity of natural resources, as is a far too common situation, not least in Africa.[187]

At the root of the conflict may thus be a simple fact of nature such as a mismatch between population growth and the available (constant or only slowly expanding) pool of resources, producing what might be called a "Malthusian squeeze".[188] The inhabitants may seek to squeeze more out of the finite resource pool available to them, but this will, at best, provide some temporary relief and the resources will be exhausted even faster. Alternatively, they may leave the country (as voluntary emigrants or as refugees) in search of better living conditions elsewhere—or they may stay put but suffer growing hardships as a consequence. In the latter case, a conflict over the distribution of available resources and jobs (a "cake-sharing dispute") is likely to ensue which may well become intense or even violent.

Fig. 1.4: Illustrative Causal Path of a Conflict



If the population in question contains easily distinguishable ethnic or other groups and strata, these distinctions are also likely to be played upon by leaders claiming privileges for their respective groups—or opposing what they see as the privileges enjoyed by other groups. Even though the roots of the conflict may be economic, it may thus become "ethnicized"—something which may also come about in neighbouring countries as a result of the aforementioned migration and refugee flows. This may happen either directly or via the struggle over scarce resources, which is likely to become more fierce when "aliens" also have to be fed and housed. In its turn, the violent conflict may well produce additional refugees and internally displaced persons, thereby exacerbating both the economic and the ethnic conflict. In the light of the growing food shortage in Southern Africa by 2002[189] this is, alas, not an unlikely forecast for the region for the years to come.

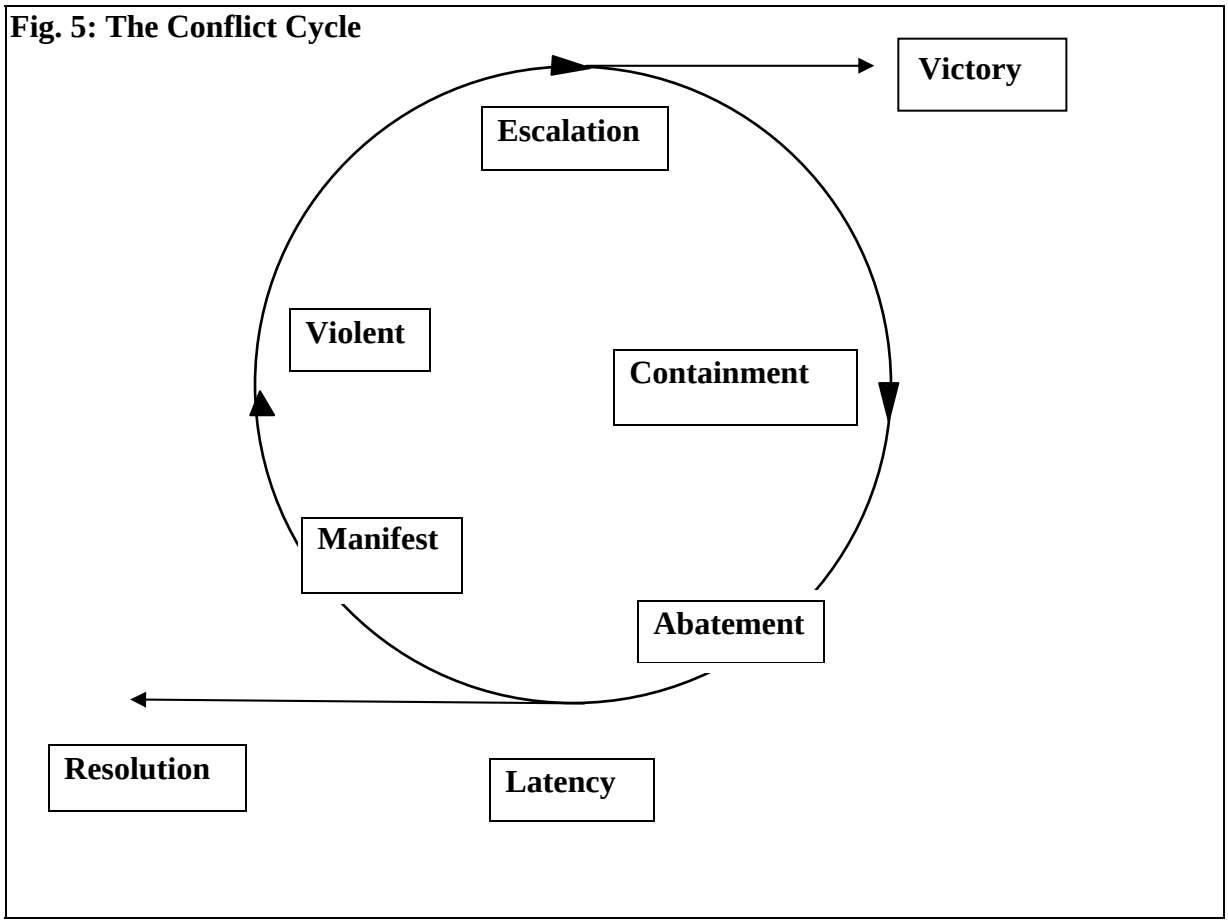
The conflict may also become internationalised (*vide supra*), e.g. via its ethnification which may draw in the "ethnic kin" abroad of one or all of the opposing ethnic groups, via attempts at solving the problem of scarce resources through conquest,[190] or via cross-border refugee flows. In its turn, the involvement of external actors in the conflict is just as likely to exacerbate it as to help solving it.

The Conflict Cycle

Provided that structural causes of conflict exist and that the latent conflict is sufficiently severe, virtually any event may serve as the proximate cause or trigger of an open conflict. In many cases it is an unpopular political decision which is seen as "the last straw", but overt conflicts may also be set in motion by, e.g., acts of oppression such as the police cracking down on a demonstration, closing an oppositional newspaper or the like.

Even after having been set in motion, conflicts do not usually escalate in a linear fashion, as there are usually "thresholds" which must be crossed along the way. Just where these thresholds are situated depends very much on context and history, as it is usually a matter of perceptions and social constructions. In some countries police clubbing or tear-gassing demonstrators may, for instance, be seen as normal, whereas in others it may suffice for crossing a threshold. Taking this notion of thresholds as the point of departure, it makes sense to depict the "typical" evolution of a conflict as a "conflict cycle" as set out in Fig. 5 below.[191]

Fig. 5: The Conflict Cycle



- First comes the **latent phase** where a conflict is dormant and barely expressed by the conflicting sides who may not even be conscious of their conflicting interests or values. Several indicators of impending conflicts can be identified, such as growing poverty, inequality, frustrated expectation and a growing tendency to view problems in "us versus them" terms, etc., as we shall see in the following chapter under the heading of early warning.
- Next comes the **manifest phase** where the conflicting parties express their demands and grievances openly, but only by legal political means. At this stage is is easier to identify both problems and contestants as conflicting sides tend to exihibit conflict behaviour and regroup themselves into opposing camps, often (but not always) defined in ethnic terms.
- In the **violent phase** the spilling of blood produces additional motives for

continuing the struggle, if only to “get even” or in order to escape retribution for atrocities already committed. Moreover, in this phase leadership is often usurped by people pursuing their various private agendas and often personally profiting from the continuing struggle.

- Fourth comes the **escalation phase** where violence breeds further violence, producing an escalatory momentum. Moreover, the longer the struggle has lasted, and the more destructive it has been, the more do the warring parties (and especially their leaders) have to lose by laying down their arms. Only victory can justify the preceding bloodshed and other “sunk costs”, hence the proclivity to struggle on as long as there is even a slight hope of prevailing, thereby attaining the power to set the terms..
- Eventually, however, the escalation comes to a halt, either because one side prevails or because both sides have temporarily exhausted their supply of weaponry. In the latter case, the conflict enters its **contained phase**. The struggle continues, but its intensity tends to decline.
- The conflict may thus evolve into its **abated phase**, where the basic causes of conflict remain in place, but where conflict behaviour has been significantly altered—with less violence and more political mobilisation and negotiation. At this stage, the prospects of post-conflict recovery begin to loom large in the minds of political leaders on opposing sides, and external actors may thus gain new leverage, e.g. as potential (but not unconditional) providers of aid.
- The **resolution phase** is arguably the most critical of them all, as success or failure of “post-conflict peace-building” will determine whether the conflict will flare up again Such success presupposes that both the underlying causes of the conflict and its immediate consequences are addressed. If not, the conflict cycle is likely to enter a new round.

Summary

We have thus seen that conflicts are, indeed, complex phenomena. On the other hand, quite a lot is, in fact known about their various causes, underlying motives, structures and dynamics as well as their typical evolution.

Notes

[1] Good overviews of both conflict theory as such and of conflict management are Rapoport, Anatol: *The Origins of Violence. Approaches to the Study of Conflict* (New York: Paragon House, 1989); Kriesberg, Louis: *Constructive Conflicts. From Escalation to Resolution* (Lanham, ML: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998); Wallensteen, Peter: *Understanding Conflict Resolution. War, Peace and the Global System* (London: Sage, 2002); Lipsey, Roderick K. von (ed.): *Breaking the Cycle. A Framework for Conflict Intervention* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997); Miall, Hugh, Oliver Ramsbotham & Tom Woodhouse: *Contemporary Conflict Resolution: The Prevention, Management and Transformation of Deadly Conflict* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999); Rupesinghe, Kumar: *Civil Wars, Civil Peace. An Introduction to Conflict Resolution* (London: Pluto Press, 1998); Crocker, Chester A., Fen Osler Hampton & Pamela Aall (eds.): *Managing Global Chaos. Sources of and Responses to International Conflict* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1996); idem, idem & idem (eds.): *Turbulent Peace. The Challenges of Managing International Conflict* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2001); Reuchler, Luc & Thania Paffenholz (eds.): *Peacebuilding. A Field Guide* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2001); Jeong, Ho-Won (ed.): *Conflict Resolution: Dynamics, Process and Structure* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999); Sandole, Dennis J.D. & Hugo van der Merwe (eds.): *Conflict Resolution Theory and Practice. Integration and Application* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993); Vasquez, John, James Turner Johnson, Sanford Jaffe & Linda Stamato (eds.): *Beyond Confrontation. Learning Conflict Resolution in the Post-Cold War Era* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1995); Göran Lindgren, Kjell-Åke Nordquist & Peter Wallensteen (eds.): *Experiences from Conflict Resolution in the Third World* (Uppsala: Department of Peace and Conflict Research, 1993).

[2] An anthology seeking to map the entire field is Turpin, Jennifer & Lester R. Kurtz (eds.): *The Web of Violence. From Interpersonal to Global* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1997).

[3] This is Kenneth Waltz's main argument against what he calls "1st image" and "2nd image" analyses (based on human nature and the nature of the state, respectively) of the international system, it its turn residing at the 3rd level. See his *Man, the State and War. A Theoretical Analysis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959); and idem: *Theory of International Politics* (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1979).

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[5] A good overview is Ringmar, Erik: "Book Review Essay: On the Causes of War", *Cooperation and Conflict*, vol. 32, no. 2 (June 1997), pp. 223-230. See also Brown, Seyom: *The Causes and Prevention of War*. 2nd ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994); Vasquez, John A.: *The War Puzzle* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Evera, Stephen Van: *Causes of War: Power and the Roots of International Conflict* (Ithaca, NJ: Cornell University Press, 1999); Suganami, Hidemi: "Bringing Order to the Causes of War Debates",

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[55] *Ibid.*, p. 152.
[56] Figures are taken from *ibid.*, pp.149-152.
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[59] Falk: *op. cit.* (note 30). See also Barber, Benjamin R: *Jihad vs. McWorld. Terrorism's Challenge to Democracy*, 2nd ed. (New York: Ballantine Books, 2001).
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[106] On Somalia see Ahmed, Ismail I. & Reginald Herbold Green: "The Heritage of War and State Collapse in Somalia and Somaliland: Local-level Effects, External Interventions and Reconstruction", *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 20, no. 1 (February 1999), pp. 113-128; Compagnon, Daniel: "Somali Armed Units. The Interplay of Political Entrepreneurship and Clan-Based Factions", in Christopher Clapham (ed.): *African Guerillas* (Oxford: James Currey, 1998), pp. 73-90; Laitin, David D.: "Somalia: Civil War and International Intervention", in Barbara F. Walter & Jack Snyder (red).: *Civil Wars, Insecurity, and Intervention* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), pp. 146-180; Lyons, Terrence & Ahmed I. Samatar: *Somalia. State Collapse, Multilateral Intervention, and Strategies for Political Reconstruction* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1995); Simons, Anna: "Somalia: A Regional Security Dilemma", in Edmond J. Keller & Donald Rothchild (eds.): *Africa in the New World Order* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1996), pp. 71-84. On Afghanistan see Kaplan, Robert D.: *Soldiers of Good. With Islamic Warriors in Afghanistan and Pakistan*. 2nd ed. (New York: Vintage Departures, 2001); Urban, Mark: *War in Afghanistan.* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988); Borer: *Superpowers Defeated*, pp. 173-186; Rubin, Barnett R.: *The Search for Peace in Afghanistan. From Buffer State to Failed State* (New Haven, NJ: Yale University Press, 1995); Harpviken, Kristian Berg: "Transcending Traditionalism: The Emergence of Non-State Military Formations in Afghanistan", *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 34, no. 3 (August 1997), pp. 271-287; Kartha, Tara: "The Weaponisation of Afghanistan", *Strategic Analysis*, vol. 19, no. 10-11 (New Delhi: IDSA, 1997), pp. 1389-1422; Mendelson, Sarah E.: "Internal Battles and External Wars. Politics, Learning, and the Soviet Withdrawal from Afghanistan", *World Politics*, vol. 45, no. 3 (April 1993), pp. 327-360; Mishra, Pankaj: "The Making of Afghanistan", in Robert S. Silvers & Barbara Epstein (eds.): *Striking Terror. America's New War* (New York: New York Review of Boks, 2002), pp. 69-90; idem: "The Afghan Tragedy", *ibid.*, pp. 203-244; Judah Tim: "War in the Dark", *ibid.*, pp. 111-168.

[107] The term is that of Jackson, Robert H.: *Quasi-States: Sovereignty, International Relations, and the Third World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

[108] On the concept of sovereignty see Fowler & Bunck: *op. cit.* (note 77); Krasner: *op. cit.* 1999 (note 77). On the distinction between "formal" (or external) and "empirical" (or

internal) sovereignty see Kratochwill, Friedrich: "Sovereignty as *Dominium*: Is There a Right of Humanitarian Intervention", in Lyons & Mastanduno (eds.): *op. cit.* (note 33), pp.21-42; Rosenau, James N.: "Sovereignty in a Turbulent World", *ibid.*, pp. 191-227; idem: *op. cit.* (note 30), pp. 217-236.

[109] See, e.g. Thomson: *op. cit.* (note 75), passim; Schraeder: *op. cit.* (note 75), pp. 217-290.

[110] The following account is largely based on the author's: "National, Societal And Human Security—A General Discussion with a Case Study from the Balkans", in *What Agenda for Human Security in the Twenty-first Century* (Paris: UNESCO, 2001), pp. 36-57.

[111] The closest he came to a definition was: "National security must be defined as integrity of the national territory and its institutions", in Morgenthau, Hans J.: *Politics Among Nations. The Struggle for Power and Peace*, 3rd ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960), p. 562. In another connection, he added "culture" to the list, emphasising that the "survival of a political unit in its identity" (i.e. "security") constitutes "the irreducible minimum, the necessary element of its interests vis-à-vis other units". See "The Problem of the National Interest" (1952), in idem: *Politics in the Twentieth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), pp. 204-237 (quote from p. 219).

[112] Wolfers, Arnold: "National Security as an Ambiguous Symbol", in idem: *Discord and Collaboration. Essays on International Politics* (Baltimore, ML: John Hopkins University Press, 1962), pp. 147-165 (quote from p. 150).

[113] See, for instance, Krell, Gert: "The Development of the Concept of Security", in Egbert Jahn & Yoshikazu Sakamoto (eds.): *Elements of World Instability: Armaments, Communication, Food, International Division of Labour* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 1981), pp. 238-254; Jahn, Egbert: "From International Peace Research to National Security Research", in Jaap Nobel (ed.): *The Coming of Age of Peace Research. Studies in the Development of a Discipline* (Groningen: Styx, 1991), pp. 57-75; Frei, Daniel: "Was ist unter Frieden und Sicherheit zu verstehen?", in Wolfgang Heisenberg & Dieter S. Lutz (eds.): *Sicherheitspolitik kontrovers. Frieden und Sicherheit. Status quo in Westeuropa und Wandel in Osteuropa* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 1990), vol. 1, pp. 41-49; Stephenson, Carolyn: "New Conceptions of Security and Their Implicatons for Means and Methods", in Katharine and Majid Tehranian (eds.): *Restructuring for World Peace. On the Threshold of the Twenty-First Century* (Creskil, NJ: Hampton Press, 1992), pp. 47-61; Fischer, Dietrich: *Nonmilitary Aspects of Security. A Systems Approach* (Aldershot: Dartmouth and UNIDIR, 1993).

[114] See, for instance, Galtung, Johan: "A Structural Theory of Imperialism", *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 6, no. 2 (1971), pp. 81-118; idem: "A Structural Theory of Imperialism—Ten Years Later", *Millennium*, vol. 9, no. 3 (1980), pp. 183-196; idem: *The True Worlds. A Transnational Perspective* (New York: The Free Press, 1980); Lawler. *op. cit.* (note 4), pp. 70-79.

[115] Neuman, Stephanie (ed.): *International Relations Theory and the Third World* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998). On the US dominance of the discipline see also Wæver, Ole: "The Development of a Not So International Discipline: American and European Developments in International Relations", in Peter J. Katzenstein, Robert O. Keohane & Stephen D. Krasner (eds.): *Exploration and Contestation in the Study of World Politics* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999). pp. 687-727.

[116] Galtung, Johan: "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research" (*loc. cit.* note 46); idem: "Peace Research", in idem: *op. cit.* (note 46), pp. 150-166; idem: "What is Meant by Peace and Security? Some Options for the 1990s", in idem: *Transarmament and the Cold War*. Essays in Peace Research, Volume VI (Copenhagen: Christian Ejlers Forlag, 1988), pp. 61-71. On "stable peace", see Boulding, Kenneth: *Stable Peace* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978).

[117] A good illustration of the development is the two consecutive versions of a textbook on security studies: Shultz, Richard, Ray Godson & Ted Greenwood (eds.): *Security Studies for the 1990s* (Washington, DC: Brassey's, 1993); and Shultz, Richard H., Jr., Roy Godson & George H. Quester (eds.): *Security Studies for the 21st Century* (Washington: Brassey's, 1997). A precursor of the present debate was Ullman, Richard: "Redefining Security", *International Security*, vol. 8, no. 1 (Summer 1983), pp. 162-177. Good overviews are Nye, Joseph E. & Sean M. Lynn-Jones: "International Security Studies: A Report of a Conference on the State of the Field", *International Security*, vol. 12, no. 4 (Spring 1988), pp. 5-27; Lynn-Jones, Sean: "The Future of International Security Studies", in Desmond Ball & David Horner (eds.): *Strategic Studies in a Changing World: Global, Regional and Australian Perspectives* (Canberra: Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Research School of Pacific Studies, ANU, 1992), pp. 71-107. See also Mangold, Peter: *National Security and International Relations* (London: Routledge, 1990); Booth, Ken: "Security in Anarchy: Utopian Realism in Theory and Practice", *International Affairs*, vol. 67, no. 3 (1991), pp. 527-545; idem (ed.): *New Thinking About Strategy and International Security* (London: Harper Collins, 1991); Clarke, Michael (ed.): *New Perspectives on Security* (London: Brassey's, 1993); Terriff, Terry, Stuart Croft, Lucy James & Patrick M. Morgan: *Security Studies Today* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999). A useful collection of central writings on security is Sheehan, Michael (ed.): *National and International Security* (Aldershot: Dartmouth, 2000)

[118] Buzan: *op. cit.* (note 42); idem, Morten Kelstrup, Pierre Lemaitre, Ole Wæver *& al.*: *The European Security Order Recast. Scenarios for the Post-Cold War Era* (London: Pinter, 1990); Wæver, Ole, Barry Buzan, Morten Kelstrup and Pierre Lemaitre: *Identity, Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe* (London: Pinter, 1993); idem & al.: *op. cit.* (note 34).

[119] Good examples of "expanded strategic studies" are Brown, Neville: *The Strategic Revolution. Thoughts for the Twenty-First Century* (London: Brassey's Defence Publishers, 1992); Souchon, Lennart: *Neue deutsche Sicherheitspolitik* (Herford: Mittler Verlag, 1990).

[120] Gallie, W.B.: "Essentially Contested Concepts", in Max Black (ed.): *The Importance of Language* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Praeger, 1962), pp. 121-146.

[121] A basic work on social constructivism is Berger, Peter L. & Thomas Luckman: T*he Social Construction of Reality* (London: Allan Lane, 1967). On this and various "postmodern" approaches to IR theory see George, Jim: *Discourses of Global Politics: A Critical (Re)Introduction to International Relations* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1994); Vasquez, John A.: "The Post-positivist Debate: Reconstructing Scientific Enquiry and International Relations Theory after Enlightenment's Fall", in Ken Booth & Steve Smith (eds.): *International Relations Theory Today* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), pp. 217-240: Ruggie, John Gerard: "What Makes the World Hang Together? Neo-Utilitarianism and the Social Constructivist Challenge", in Katzenstein, Keohane & Krasner (eds.): *op. cit.* (note 115), pp. 215-246; Wendt, Alexander: *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). For a critique see Østerrud, Øyvind: "Antinomies of Postmodernism in International Studies", *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 33, no. 4 (November 1996), pp. 385-390.

[122] Wæver, Ole: "Securitization and Desecuritization", in Ronnie D. Lipschutz (ed.): *On Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), pp. 46-86; Buzan et al.: *op. cit.* (note 34). Recent works of a related constructivist or post-structuralist orientation include Campbell, David: *Writing Security. United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity*, 2nd ed. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998); Fierke, K.M.: *Changing Games, Changing Strategies. Critical Investigations in Security* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998); Huysmans, Jef: "Security! What Do You Mean? From Concept to Thick Signifier", *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 4, no. 2 (June 1998), pp. 226-255; Hansen, Lene: "A

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[123] For an argument along these lines about South Africa see Harris, Geoff: "The Irrationality of South Africa's Miliary Expenditres", *African Security Review*, vol. 11, no. 2 (2002), pp. 75-84. See also Zacarias, Agostinho: *Security and the State in Southern Africa* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1999).

[124] See, e.g., Krause, Keith & Michael C. Williams (ed.): *Critical Security Studies. Concepts and Cases* (London: UCL Press, 1997); Jones, Richard Wyn: *Security, Strategy, and Critical Theory* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1999); Fierke: *op. cit.* (note 122).

[125] A good example of this is the recent writings of Gwyn Prins, who has argued in favour of a reorientation of security studies to the environment. See, e.g., idem: "Politics and the Environment", *International Affairs*, vol. 66, no. 4 (1990), pp. 711-730; idem: "The Four-Stroke Cycle in Security Studies", *ibid*., vol. 74, no. 4 (October 1998), pp. 781-808; idem: "A New Focus for Security Studies", in Ball & Horner (eds.): *op. cit.* (note 117), pp. 178-222; idem: "Global Security and Military Intervention", *Security Dialogue*, vol. 27, no. 1 (March 1996), pp. 7-16; idem: "Security Challenges for the 21st century", *NATO Review*, vol. 45, no. 1 (Jan. 1997), pp. 27-30.

[126] Wæver, Ole: "Self-referential Concepts of Security as an Instrument for Reconstruction of an Open-ended Realism in IR", in idem: *Concepts of Security* (Copenhagen: Institute of Political Science, University of Copenhagen, 1997), pp. 347-373; Buzan & al. 1998: *op. cit.* (note 34), pp. 35-42. McSweeney: *op. cit.* (note 122), p. 87.

[127] For a historical account of "Realism", see e.g. Smith, Michael Joseph: *Realist Thought from Weber to Kissinger* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986). See also Frankel, Benjamin (ed.): *Roots of Realism* (London: Frank Cass, 1996); idem (ed.): *Realism: Restatements and Renewal* (London: Frank Cass, 1996). For a critique see Vasquez, John: *The Power of Power Politics. From Classsical Realism to Neotraditionalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), *passim*.

[128] An example of this is Gilpin, Robert G.: *War and Change in World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); idem: "The Economic Dimension of International Security", in Henry Bienen (ed.): *Power, Economics, and Security. The United States and Japan in Focus* (Boulder: Westview, 1992), pp. 51-68; Knorr, Klaus: "The Determinants of Military Power", *ibid.*, pp. 69-133; idem: *The War Potential of Nations* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1956). Kenneth Waltz also included economic factors in his "aggregate capabilities", e.g. in *op. cit.* (note 3), pp. 129-131. For a recent attempt at measuring such aggregate strength see Tellis, Ashley J., Janice Bially, Christopher Layne & Melissa McPherson: *Measuring National Power in the Postindustrial Age* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2000).

[129] The term stems from Ayittey, George B.N.: *Africa in Chaos* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998).

[130] Wæver, Ole: "Societal Security: the Concept", in idem et al.: *op. cit.* (note 118), pp. 17-40 (quote from p. 23). See also Buzan, Barry: "Societal Security, State Security and Internationalization", *ibid.*, pp. 41-58.

[131] Wæver, Ole: "Identities", in Judit Balázs & Håkan Wiberg (eds.): *Peace Research for the 1990s* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1993), pp. 135-150; Lapid, Yosef & Friedrich Kratochwill: "Revisiting the 'National': Toward an Identity Agenda in Neorealism", in idem & idem (eds.): *op. cit.* (note 38), pp.105-126; Keithly, David: "Security and *Ersatz* Identity", *European Security*, vol. 7, no. 1 (Spring 1998), pp. 80-96; Kowert, Paul A.: "National Identity: Inside and Out", *Security Studies*, vol. 8, no. 2/3 (Winter 1998/Spring 1999), pp. 1-34; Neumann: *loc. cit.* (note 63); Williams: *loc. cit.* (note 63).

[132] Huntington: *op. cit.* (note 37). For a critique see Chan, Stephen: "Too Neat and Under-thought a World Order: Huntington and Civilizations", *Millennium*, vol. 26, no. 1 (1997), pp. 137-140; Welch, David A.: "The 'Clash of Civilizations' Thesis as an Argument and as a Phenomenon", *Security Studies*, vol. 6, no. 4 (Summer 1997), pp. 197-216; Russett, Bruce M., John R. Oneal & Michaelene Cox: "Clash of Civilizations, or Realism and Liberalism Déjà Vu? Some Evidence", *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 37, no. 5 (September 2000), pp. 583-608.

[133] See, e.g., Featherston, Mike: "In Pursuit of the Postmodern: An Introduction", *Theory, Culture & Society*, vol. 5, nos. 2-3 (June 1988), pp. 195-215; Heller, Agnes & Ferenc Fehér: *The Postmodern Political Condition* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1988). On (the lack of) postmodern ethics see Saurette, Paul: "'I Mistrust all Systematizers and Avoid Them': Nietzsche, Arendt and the Crisis of the Will to Order in International Relations Theory", *Millennium*, vol. 25, no. 1 (Spring 1996), pp. 1-28. For an attempted rebuttal of the charges against postmodernism see George, Jim: "Realist 'Ethics': International Relations and Post-modernism: Thinking Beyond the Egoism-Anarchy Thematic", *ibid.*, vol. 24, no. 2 (Summer 1995), pp. 195-223.

[134] Hall, John A.: "Nationalisms, Classified and Explained", in Sukumar Periwal (ed.): *Notions of Nationalism* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1995), pp. 8-33; Haas, Ernst B.: "Nationalism: An Instrumental Social Construction", *Millennium*, vol. 22, no. 3 (1993), pp. 505-545; Pearton, Maurice: "Notions in Nationalism", *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 2, no. 1 (1996), pp. 1-15.

[135] McSweeney: *op. cit.* (note 122), pp. 68-78.

[136] Gellner, Ernest: *Postmodermism, Reason and Religion* (London: Routledge, 1992); Reychler, Luc: "Religion and Conflict", *International Journal of Peace Studies*, vol. 2, no. 1 (January 1997), pp. 19-38; Peter Janke (ed.): *Ethnic and Religious Conflicts. Europe and Asia* (Aldershot: Dartmouth, 1994); Watson, Helen: "War and Religion: An Unholy Alliance?", in Robert A. Hinde & ida (eds.): *War: A Cruel Necessity? The Bases of Institutionalized Violence* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1995), pp. 165-182.

[137] On Turkey see Heper, Metin, Öncü, Ayshe & Heinz Kramer (eds.): *Turkey and the West. Changing Political and Cultural Identities* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1993); Kramer, Heinz: *A Changing Turkey. The Challenge to Europe and the United States* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2000); Mastiny, Vojzech & R. Craig Nation (eds.): *Turkey Between East and West: New Challenges for a Rising Regional Power* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996). On India see Chatterjee, Partha: "History and the Nationalization of Hinduism", in Vashuda Dalmia & Heinrich von Stietencron (eds.): *Representing Hinduism. The Construction of Religious Traditions and National Identity* (New Delhi: Sage, 1995), pp. 103-128. On the Islamist threat to the Arab states see Guazzone, Laura (ed.): *The Islamist Dilemma. The Political Role of Islamist Movements in the Contemporary Arab World* (Reading: Ithaca Press, 1995).

[138] Rich, Paul: "European Identity and the Myth of Islam", *Review of International Studies*, vol. 25, no. 3 (July 1999), pp. 435-452. See also Fuller & Lessler: *op. cit.* (note 69), Halliday: *op. cit.* (note 69); Khan, Mohammed A. Muqtedar: "US Foreign Policy and Political Islam: Interests, Ideas, and Ideology", *Security Dialogue*, vol. 29, no. 4 (December 1998), pp. 449-462; Jawad, Haifaa A.: "Islam and the Threat: How Fundamental Is the Threat?", *The RUSI*

Journal, vol. 140, no. 4 (August 1995), pp. 34-38; Hunter: *op. cit.* (note 69); Huband, Mark: *Warriors of the Prophet. The Struggle for Islam* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999); Hoveyda, Fereydoun: *The Broken Crescent. The "Threat" of Militant Islamic Fundamentalism* (Westport, Ct.: Praeger Press, 1998); Hibbard, Scott W. & David Little: *Islamic Activism and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 1997).

[139] Hansen, Lene: "The Little Mermaid's Silent Security Dilemma and the Absence of Gender in the Copenhagen School", *Millennium*, vol. 29, no. 2 (2000), pp. 285-306. In feminist circles the notion of male aggression seems to be fairly widespread. See, for instance, Gould, Benina Berger: "Gender Psychology and Issues of War and Peace", in Knud S. Larsen (ed.): *The Social Psychology of Conflict* (London: Sage, 1992), pp. 241-249; Jabri, Vivienne: *Discourses on Violence: Conflict Analysis Reconsidered* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996); Galtung, Johan: *Peace by Peaceful Means* (*op. cit.* note 4), pp. 40-48. On genderised security studies in general see also Terriff & al.: *op. cit.* (note 117), pp. 82-98; Elshtain, Jean Bethke: "Feminist Inquiry and International Relations", in Michael W. Doyle & G. John Ikenberry (eds.): *New Thinking in International Relations Theory* (Boulder: Westview, 1997), pp. 77-91; Tickner, J. Ann: "Feminist Perspectives on Security in a Global Environment", in Caroline Thomas & Peter Wilkin (eds.): *Globalization, Human Security, and the African Experience* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1999), pp. 41-58. For a male perspective on the particular woman's view of the world see Booth, Ken: "Security and Self: Reflections of a Fallen Realist", in Krause & Williams: *op. cit.* (note 124), pp. 83-120, especially pp. 99-101.

[140] On human security as a concept see Commission on Human Security: *Human Security Now* (New York: Commission on Human Security, 2003); Suhrke, Astri: "Human Security and the Interests of States", *Security Dialogue*, vol. 30. no. 3 (September 1999), pp. 265-276; MacLean, George: "The Changing Perception of Human Security: Coordinating National and Multilateral Responses. The United Nations and the New Security Agenda", at www.unac.org/canada/security/maclean.html; Tow, William T. & Russell Trood: "Linkages between Traditional Security and Human Security", in William T. Tow, Ramesh Thakur & In-Taek Hyun (eds.): *Asia's Emerging Regional Order. Reconciling Traditional and Human Security* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2000), pp. 13-32; Kim, Woosang & In-Taek Hyum: "Toward a News Concept of Security: Human Security in World Politics", *ibid.*, pp. 33-46; Wilkin, Peter: "Human Security and Class in a Global Economy", in Thomas & idem (eds.): *op. cit.* (note 139), pp. 23-40; Thomas, Caroline: "Furthering the Debate on Human Security", *ibid.*, pp. 179-183; Zacarias: *op. cit.* (note 123), pp. 139-160; McSweeney: *op. cit.* (note 122), pp. 152-172; Renner, Michael: *Fighting for Survival. Environmental Decline, Social Conflict and the New Age of Insecurity* (London: Earthscan, 1997), pp. 135-153 *& passim*; Booth, Ken: "Security and Emancipation", *Review of International Studies*, vol. 17, no. 4 (1991), pp. 313-326; idem: "Human Wrongs and International Relations", *International Affairs*, vol. 71, no. 1 (January 1995), pp. 103-126.

[141] *Human Development Report 1993* at www.undp.org/hdro/e93over.htm.

[142] *Human Development Report 1994* at www.undp.org/hdro/e94over.htm.

[143] On the general relationship between military spending and development see Ball, Nicole: *Security and Economy in the Third World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988); Brauer, Jurgen & J. Paul Dunne (eds.): *Arming the South. The Economics of Military Expenditure, Arms Production and Arms Trade in Developing Countries* (Houndsmills: Palgrave, 2002). See also Cheatham, Marcus: "War, Military Spending, and Food Security in Africa", in Norman A. Graham (ed.): *Seeking Security and Development. The Impact of Military Spending and Arms Transfers* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1994), pp. 229-253; Gyimah-Brempong, Kwabena: "Do African Governments Favor Defense in Budgeting?",

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Kosovo war see Mertus, Julie A.: *Kosovo. How Myths and Truths Started a War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

[186] On the infamous *Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines* see Melvern, Linda R.: *A People Betrayed. The Role of the West in Rwanda's Genocide* (London: Zed Books, 2000), pp. 70-73 *& passim*; Chalk, Frank: "Hate Radio in Rwanda", in Howard Adelman & Astri Suhrke (eds.): *The Path of a Genocide. The Rwanda Crisis from Uganda to Zaire* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2000), pp. 93-107The NGO Search for Common Ground has sought to use a radio station, Studio Jambo, to foster peaceful sentiments between Hutus and Tutsis in neighbouring Burundi. The author personally visited the station in June 2000. It is described on the organisation's website at www.searchforcommonground.org/.

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[191] Inspired by, but differs from, Rupesinghe, Kumar: *Civil Wars, Civil Peace. An Introduction to Conflict Resolution* (London: Pluto Press, 1998), pp. 88; Lipsey, Roderick K. von: "The Intervention Cycle", in idem (ed.): *Preventing Violent Conflicts. A Strategy for Preventive Diplomacy* (Washington, D.C: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1996), pp. 3-49; Kriesberg: *op. cit.* (note 1), p. 25.

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